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Security Council
Fifty-fifth Year

Provisional

4092nd Meeting
Monday, 24 January 2000, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mrs. Albright	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Axworthy
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France	Mr. Josselin
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Sokona
	Namibia	Mr. Gurirab
	Netherlands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Hain

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

00-25714 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Colombia, Egypt, Eritrea, India, Israel, Japan, Lesotho, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Norway, Portugal, South Africa and the United Republic of Tanzania, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. Wouters (Belgium), Mr. Fonseca (Brazil), Mr. Neturuye (Burundi), Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia), Mr. Darwish (Egypt), Mr. Menkerios (Eritrea), Mr. Sharma (India), Mr. Lancry (Israel), Mr. Takasu (Japan), Mr. Mangoaela (Lesotho), Mr. Dorda (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Brattakar (Norway), Mr. Monteiro (Portugal), Mr. Kumalo (South Africa) and Mr. Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania) took seats at the Council table.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, and to the facilitator of the internal Congolese dialogue, Sir Ketumile Masire.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort Sir Ketumile Masire, facilitator of the internal Congolese dialogue, to a seat at the Council table.

It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim to a seat at the Council table.

Invitation to His Excellency Mr. Laurent-Désiré Kabila, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort His Excellency Mr. Laurent-Désiré Kabila, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Laurent-Désiré Kabila, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

Invitation to His Excellency Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Republic of Rwanda

The President: It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort His Excellency Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Republic of Rwanda, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Republic of Rwanda, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

Invitation to His Excellency Mr. Frederick J.T. Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia

The President: It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort His Excellency Mr. Frederick J.T. Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Frederick J.T. Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

Invitation to His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique

The President: It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

Invitation to His Excellency Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda

The President: It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort His Excellency Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

Invitation to His Excellency Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

The President: It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort His Excellency Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

Invitation to His Excellency Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Republic of Angola

The President: It is now my high honour and privilege to invite the Secretary-General and the Chief of Protocol to escort His Excellency Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Republic of Angola, to a seat at the Council table.

Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Republic of Angola, was escorted to a seat at the Council table.

Welcome to Foreign Ministers

The President: I am pleased to acknowledge that at this meeting of the Security Council Canada and Namibia are represented by their Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland by the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, France by the Minister Delegate for Cooperation and Francophonie, and Mali by the Minister of the Armed Forces.

I should like to acknowledge and welcome the presence of other Ministers for Foreign Affairs in the Council Chamber today. Their presence is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter to be addressed. The spirit of cooperation demonstrated by all those present here, which has made this very important meeting possible, is greatly appreciated by all of us.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

The Security Council indeed feels like home to me. I had the honour of presiding over the Council many times as Permanent Representative of the United States of America, and as Secretary of State I am proud to have been in the Chair during the ministerial meetings on Africa in 1997, and to have participated in the follow-up session, in 1998. I spent many long hours here discussing important issues of war and peace. Memory softens judgement, so I cannot recall a single dull moment; but it is fair to say that the deliberations this month on Africa are a particularly creative use of the Council Chamber. I am especially pleased to be able to preside over today's meeting.

Notable as well was the special appearance last Thursday of the Chairman of our Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the presence Friday of the full Committee for a hearing. I believe it was very useful for the Council to hear all their views directly and for them to hear those of the Council members. Chairman Helms is a man of conviction and a strong advocate of a distinct point of view about the United Nations and America's relationship to it. He and I have made a point of working together where we can and making sure that when we disagree we do so agreeably. So let me be clear: only the President and the executive branch can speak for the United States.

Today, on behalf of the President, let me say that the Clinton Administration and I believe that most Americans see our role in the world and our relationship to this Organization quite differently than does Senator Helms. We believe in leading with other nations whenever that is possible. We strongly support the United Nations Charter and the Organization's purpose. We respect its rules, which we helped write. We want to

strengthen it through continued reform, and we recognize its many contributions to our own interests in a more secure, democratic and humane world.

The United Nations also provides a vital forum for the consideration of matters affecting security and peace, and that is what has brought us to this extraordinary meeting today. The presence of so many national leaders reflects the seriousness of the unresolved turmoil in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and their commitment to peace. Because of that nation's location and size, and because of the number of countries involved, the conflict there could be described as Africa's first world war. The continent cannot hope to meet the aspirations of its people until this war is history.

In today's meeting, and in succeeding days, I hope we will make decisive progress. But if that is to happen, reciprocal actions will be required.

The parties must detail in a credible fashion their plans for meeting the commitments they have made. The Council and the international community must respond with their plans for supporting the transition from conflict to cooperation.

We start with a firm foundation for progress in the form of the Lusaka Agreement. The leaders here today deserve great credit for negotiating and signing that Agreement. President Chiluba merits high praise for his diplomatic skill in facilitating it. The United States strongly supports the Agreement and urges all parties to live up to their obligations.

Under the Lusaka principles, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will be restored and thereafter respected. The all-important process of dialogue within the Democratic Republic will go forward.

Foreign troops will be required to withdraw in a lawful and orderly manner. Concrete mechanisms will be established to ensure that the Congo will not be used as a safe haven for illegal armed groups from any country.

These are the steps that can guide Central Africa down the path to security for all. This is the way to fulfil the region's vast economic potential. This is the option the overwhelming majority of people urgently desire. No one will gain from continued conflict. No one will lose what is rightfully theirs from peace.

The primary responsibility for implementing these steps rests with the parties, including the rebel groups. The international community, including the United States, can and does condemn the violation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's territorial integrity by foreign troops, but we cannot compel the withdrawal of those troops. Nor can we conduct an internal dialogue. But we can help make responsibilities easier to fulfil, and the United States is doing its part.

First, we have lent steady and strong diplomatic support to the Lusaka process.

Secondly, we are providing $1 million to assist the work of the Joint Military Commission (JMC). We urge cooperation by all parties in working with the JMC to implement the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and in accordance with the Lusaka Agreement.

Thirdly, we will work with Congress to provide $1 million this year to support President Masire's effort to facilitate the Congolese national dialogue. This is vital because such a dialogue can be a critical step not only towards ending the current conflict, but also in preventing future ones. It can lay the foundation for political processes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that have broad public support and for institutions of government that could make the Democratic Republic as democratic in practice as it is in its name.

Fourthly, the United States strongly supports Special Representative Morjane's efforts to curb human rights abuses, prevent atrocities and expand humanitarian relief. The most disturbing aspect of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been the horrific abuse of fundamental human rights by all sides. We have even heard credible reports recently of women being buried alive in the eastern part of the country.

There is no rationale of past grievance, political allegiance or ethnic difference that excuses murder, torture, rape or other abuse. Here, today, together, we must vow to halt these crimes and to bring those who commit them to justice under due process of law.

Finally, provided our efforts this week result in renewed impetus towards implementation of the peace Agreement, we will consult with our Congress and work to achieve a swift Council consensus on authorizing deployment of a phase-two United Nations peace mission.

To succeed, any such mission must be based on commitments from the Lusaka signatories on the key issues of access, security and cooperation. As the Secretary-General will attest, we have learned much over the past decade about the "dos" and "don'ts" of United Nations missions. We must apply those lessons firmly and realistically in this case. But we must also be resolute in our determination to help the Democratic Republic of the Congo move from war to peace.

Once again, I congratulate the Secretary-General and Ambassador Holbrooke on convening this meeting, and I am so pleased that so many leaders are here. I look forward to a very productive discussion and to a dialogue that will help us all move further down the road to stability and prosperity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and all of Africa.

I now call on the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan.

The Secretary-General: I would like to begin by paying tribute to Secretary of State Albright and Ambassador Holbrooke for their extraordinary efforts in convening yet another in a series of important meetings during the United States presidency of the Security Council. They are making the world sit up and take greater notice of Africa. That is an accomplishment we must applaud and of which they can be proud.

It is remarkable to see so many African leaders gathered in this Chamber. You have travelled long distances in an effort to resolve a conflict that has brought so much suffering to so many people and for so long. The political distance still to be travelled is even greater. But that is your responsibility as leaders, and this is your opportunity to serve the African people and enlist international support for peace and stability on the continent.

When war again erupted in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in August 1998, barely a year had elapsed since the end of the country's previous conflict, which itself had followed decades of dictatorship and misrule.

In succeeding months, violence intensified. Human rights violations multiplied. Today, millions of people are trying to eke out an existence amid chronic insecurity, economic despair and widespread disregard for international humanitarian law.

Massive numbers of refugees, internally displaced persons and other vulnerable men and women are unsure of shelter or their next meal. The recruitment of child soldiers continues, with thousands serving as combatants. Unaccompanied minors have been reported in large numbers. The entire subregion has been engulfed in a crisis of such complexity that it continues to defy our best efforts to resolve it.

On a long list of needs, wisdom and statesmanship, as well as an understanding of the limits of the use of force, are at the top.

In July last year, a mediation effort led by President Chiluba of Zambia on behalf of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), and with the support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), resulted in the signing of the Lusaka Peace Agreement. Since then, however, there have been many ceasefire violations which have caused fresh suffering. The deployment of United Nations military liaison officers has been obstructed, undermining confidence in the implementation process. The belligerents must do better.

The Lusaka Agreement remains the most viable blueprint for resolving grievances and for achieving a comprehensive negotiated solution. But if peace is to take hold, and if international engagement is to be sustained, the warring parties face a paramount challenge: they need to demonstrate the political will to apply the agreement fully, without further delay. All else flows from that essential requirement.

Ultimately, we will find a sustainable solution to this crisis only if we address its root causes. That is why the drafters of the Lusaka Agreement placed inter-Congolese negotiations at the heart of the process. That dialogue is indispensable. The Congolese signatories, with the assistance of the OAU, have taken an encouraging first step in designating Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, as the neutral facilitator for these negotiations. His prestige, expertise and moral authority can help reinvigorate the Lusaka process.

The United Nations, for its part, has been actively involved in the search for a peaceful solution since the start of the conflict. We have supported the efforts of President Chiluba and the OAU. We have made significant contributions through the missions carried out by my former Special Envoy, Moustapha Niasse. And now, my new Special Representative for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kamel Morjane, will contribute

his utmost to the peace process. I also have in the region my Special Representative for the Great Lakes region, Berhanu Dinka, who will be exploring how the United Nations can help unravel the regional problems that have impeded progress. And the United Nations mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, if given the necessary cooperation and allowed to do its job, can help foster confidence among the parties and keep the peace process on track.

If the United Nations is to make the right kind of difference in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and is to avoid the wrong turns that have led to tragic consequences elsewhere, we must be ready not only to act, but to act in a way that is commensurate with the gravity of the situation. Whether that means intense political engagement, a sustained commitment of resources or decisive action in the face of unforeseen circumstances, we must see this involvement through.

At the same time, we must guard against creating inflated expectations of what can be realistically expected from the United Nations. And we must never lose sight of our central dependence on the compliance of the parties involved. Whether we are speaking of the political process, of military deployments or of protection for humanitarian and other United Nations personnel, the parties themselves bear primary responsibility for adhering to commitments and creating the conditions conducive to progress.

Time is of the essence. By their presence here at today's meeting and at tomorrow's mini-summit, the leaders in this Chamber have a chance to reaffirm their commitment to the Lusaka Agreement. The peace process is fragile; leadership can strengthen it. Millions of civilians are suffering grievously; leadership can inspire them and give them hope.

The United Nations is here to help. But the United Nations has also had bitter experiences of help gone wrong. This has made Member States profoundly uneasy, and has raised the threshold of persuasion for new involvements, even when suffering claims our attention and when solidarity demands that we act. If this is an illness of our international system, leadership can provide an antidote.

The challenge facing these leaders is to reach consensus with one another, and to transform that consensus into action. That will lay the groundwork for progress to be made on their own. Just as important, it will offer a convincing argument in favour of the international support that Africa merits and that can help bring about a decisive change for the better.

The President: I thank the Secretary-General for the kind words he addressed to the United States presidency.

I call now on His Excellency Mr. Frederick J.T. Chiluba, President of the Republic of Zambia.

President Chiluba: First of all, let me apologize to you, Madam President, and to Ambassador Holbrooke for my failure to meet with you last night. I hope that was not a sign of an undeclared war between Britain and Zambia, because I was badly attacked in England by flu only two hours after my arrival. I thought that was not in retaliation for the death of Dr. Livingstone, who was killed by malaria in my country.

I wish sincerely to congratulate Ambassador Richard Holbrooke and the Government of the United States of America for devoting the United States presidency of the Security Council to African issues. The Council has held discussions on HIV/AIDS, on refugees and internally displaced persons, on the war in Angola and on the Burundi conflict, as well as the current discussion of the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. These are issues that have direct, immediate and severe consequences for my country.

By devoting a month to African issues, the Security Council is acknowledging that Africa is an important part of the international community, and that any threats to peace and security on the continent inevitably threaten international peace and security. The United Nations stands today both as a monument to humanity's greatest folly and as an embodiment of our collective wisdom and commitment to the permanent preservation of international peace and security. It is thus a fitting tribute to the foresight of the founding fathers of the United Nations that the Security Council, the body specifically entrusted with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is holding discussions on important African issues that pose a threat to that peace.

Our discussion today, and for the rest of this week, focuses on the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a country with which my country, Zambia, shares its longest international boundary and close historical and cultural ties.

In September last year, I had an opportunity to address both the Security Council and the General Assembly on this same subject. At the time, we had just managed to secure the remaining signatures to the Ceasefire Agreement. I appealed to the Security Council in particular, and to the international community in general, through the General Assembly, to undertake a number of steps to ensure the speedy and full implementation of the Agreement.

According to the calendar for the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement, which the parties had agreed upon, most of the activities should have been completed by this time, including the inter-Congolese national dialogue, establishment of new institutions, exchange of prisoners and disarmament of armed groups. Deployment of the United Nations peacekeeping mission would long since have begun and the orderly withdrawal of foreign forces from the Democratic Republic of the Congo would be in its final stages of completion.

It is common knowledge that the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement is way behind schedule in almost all respects. The question is: why is this so?

Could it be that our enthusiasm and optimism were premised on unrealistic expectations? I do not think so. The calendar was implementable as it was. Could it be that the parties lacked the political will to follow through on what they had committed themselves to in the Agreement? I do not think so either. Why, then, has the Agreement not been implemented on schedule?

I would be the first to admit that we have encountered a number of difficulties that have contributed to delays in implementing the Agreement. Yes, we have had some violations of the Agreement and, yes, indeed, there have been problems of accessibility of the United Nations Organization Mission (MONUC) and Organization of African Unity (OAU) neutral investigators to some parts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, thus making the work of these important bodies difficult. In addition, coordination between MONUC, the OAU and the Joint Military Commission (JMC) took some time to sort out.

I do not, however, subscribe to the notion that these problems were so big as to become insurmountable. Indeed, it is to the credit of the parties that, in spite of the difficulties, they have remained committed to the Ceasefire Agreement and have, without exception, repeatedly reaffirmed this commitment. To this effect, the parties have made every effort, particularly through the JMC, to address the problems.

When reports of Ceasefire violations were becoming persistent, the JMC established four regional JMCs inside the Democratic Republic of the Congo and deployed OAU investigators to three of these. Arrangements for deployment to the fourth regional JMC at Kabalo are being made. When a stand-off between the allied forces and those of the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RDC) happened at Ikela, the JMC appointed a neutral committee comprising Zambia as Chairman, MONUC and the OAU to find an amicable solution.

Another positive development has been the acknowledgement by the parties themselves that the calendar needed to be adjusted in view of the delays in the implementation process. A proposed new calendar has since been worked out by the JMC and approved in principle by the Political Committee, which met in Harare on 17 and 18 January 2000. The parties are working to ensure that the calendar is finalised as soon as possible. In addition to all the parties reaffirming their commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement during the Political Committee meeting, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo used the opportunity to pledge its readiness to facilitate access of MONUC and the OAU investigators to the various areas inside the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Lastly, but by no means the least, on 15 December 1999 the Congolese parties, with the assistance of the OAU Secretary-General, unanimously selected Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, as the neutral facilitator for the inter-Congolese negotiations.

One of the major causes of the delay in implementing the Ceasefire Agreement has been lack of funds for the Joint Military Commission. In the first instance, the pledged contributions made by the international community have not been adequate to meet all the needs of the JMC. Worse still, most of the pledged contributions are yet to be made available to the JMC. As a result, it took time for the JMC to be effectively established and deployed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. For some time, therefore, there was a vacuum in areas where the JMC should have had a presence to ensure that implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement was proceeding according to the schedule.

I have felt compelled to highlight some of the positive developments not so much to deny the existence

of any problems, nor am I suggesting that we, the parties, cannot bear any responsibility whatsoever for any of the problems that have affected the implementation of the Agreement. Not at all. Rather, I have made this point in order to demonstrate that the parties are irrevocably committed to the Ceasefire Agreement, contrary to the notion that seems to have gained currency among some members of the international community that the Lusaka Agreement is all but dead. It is not.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is very real, and the Ceasefire Agreement is an effort to deal with this real situation. In the real world there are few, if any, perfect situations. It goes without saying, therefore, that an agreement that seeks to resolve a problem as real and as complex as that obtaining in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot be expected to be perfect. The difficulties that have arisen during implementation are to be expected and do not invalidate the Agreement at all.

We are, therefore, very concerned when we hear about what appear to be preconditions being raised in regard to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The international community is reluctant to send peacekeepers to the Democratic Republic of the Congo unless the Lusaka Agreement registers a perfect score on some performance chart. To the best of my knowledge, no other ceasefire agreement anywhere in the world has been subjected to this test. If such were to be done, I am confident that not a single one would pass the test at all.

There is no peacekeeping that does not involve some degree of risk. We are involved in peacekeeping because peace is an imperative for the survival of humankind: it is an imperative for which we must be prepared to make the supreme sacrifice.

We are not here suggesting that the international community should indulge in reckless adventure in the name of peacekeeping. Not at all. No. Every loss of life is a tragedy. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of us, and in particular the parties to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, that the peacekeepers are given all necessary support and protection. After all, it is we, the parties to the conflict and to the Agreement, who have requested the peacekeepers. We consider peacekeepers as allies, not adversaries.

The opportunity that has been provided for the leaders of the region to discuss the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a truly unique and important one. We hope that the discussion will not be considered as an end in itself, with no concrete results at the end.

By coming here, regional leaders have come to demonstrate their commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and their determination to implement it. We hope that this discussion will lead to greater support for the Agreement from the international community. Specifically, we seek the following support from the Security Council and from the international community at large.

Firstly, we would like to see quick action in regard to the deployment of the United Nations military observers and peacekeepers. In this respect, we are in agreement with the general thrust of the arrangements contained in Secretary-General Annan's report S/2000/30 of 17 January 2000.

Secondly, we would like to appeal to the international community to make more resources available to the JMC. To this end, I wish to sincerely commend those countries which have made contributions or pledges to the JMC. Unfortunately, most of the pledges have not been honoured, and I would like to take this opportunity to make a special plea to the countries concerned to please speed up payment of their pledges.

Thirdly, we wish to appeal for support for the facilitator of the inter-Congolese dialogue, Sir Ketumile Masire — and it was pleasant to hear you, Madam Secretary, pledge that. The facilitator urgently needs resources — human, financial and material — to enable him undertake necessary preliminary work and to sustain his important functions during the National Dialogue.

Last but not least, the international community should provide the necessary and adequate resources to support the national dialogue.

The resolution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo should not be an "us-versus-them" action at all. The parties to the conflict, and its immediate victims, may be African, and the Ceasefire Agreement may have been signed by Africans, but it is not "their" conflict or "their" Agreement. The fact that this matter is today being discussed by the Security Council, the body that bears primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is an

acknowledgement of this fact, and we are pleased about this.

All of us who have the privilege of serving on the Security Council do so in trust and on behalf of all the States Members of the United Nations. This body is therefore our Security Council, collectively. The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is thus our collective responsibility. If the Ceasefire Agreement fails to be implemented, it will be our failure — that of each and every Member of the United Nations.

The President: I would like to thank the President of the Republic of Zambia for his very, very important statement, especially in view of the fact that he represented the Southern African Development Community (SADC) during difficult negotiations. I am very glad that the flu did not fell him and that he is here to speak. I wish also to thank him for the very kind words he addressed to the American presidency.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique.

President Chissano: Allow me to begin by congratulating you, Madam, on your presidency of this meeting and for the brilliant manner in which you are conducting the affairs of the Council.

The initiative of the United States presidency to convene this meeting to debate the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is not only commendable but also of paramount importance in defining an informed course of action to put an end to the prolonged conflict in the Great Lakes region.

We also commend the United States Government for taking the important initiative of declaring January the month of Africa in the Security Council. Our sincere hope is that the deliberations of the Security Council will be very successful and achieve concrete results that will ease the suffering of Africans.

The unprecedented presence of so many African heads of State or Government before the Security Council bears testimony to our resolve to find an immediate and peaceful solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is also clear evidence of our resolve to put an end to conflicts in Africa and focus our efforts on promoting sustainable development throughout the continent.

I would also like to pay a special tribute to your predecessor, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, for the diligent manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month, focusing also on Africa.

I wish also to express my profound appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and for his relentless efforts and dedication to the cause of peace not only in the Democratic Republic of the Congo but indeed in the entire world.

A durable solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo requires strong, concerted action from the subregion, the continent and the international community as a whole. Only then will the heavy loss of human lives come to an end, and peace and political stability will be restored in that sisterly country and in the region. Only then will we have a united Democratic Republic of the Congo, with common aspirations shared by all legitimate political forces in a peaceful environment — a nation at peace with itself and its neighbours.

We the leaders of the region and of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) are deeply concerned about the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in view of its strategic position for peace, security and stability in Central and southern Africa in particular and in Africa in general.

This is so because we strongly believe that the success of all socio-economic policies and indeed of any plans for development rests upon the eradication of all focus of conflicts in our region and the attainment and maintenance of peace and stability.

It was bearing in mind the reasons I outlined earlier that the region, under the wise leadership of President Chiluba of Zambia, carried out a process that culminated with the signature of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and its annexes by all belligerent parties on 10 July 1999. By taking the bold decision of signing this Agreement, the belligerents have shown their commitment, determination and willingness to bring about peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

With this development, we had hoped to see a cessation of hostilities and an end to the suffering of the Congolese people. Instead, we became concerned, at

times, at the lack of progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. However, we now feel encouraged by the holding last week in Lusaka of the meeting of the Joint Military Commission and in Harare of the meeting of the ministerial Political Committee established by the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, where the Parties reiterated their firm resolve to respect all the provisions of the Agreement. Having noted that some of these provisions had already been implemented, they solemnly recommitted themselves to implementing the remaining ones on the basis of the revised calendar, and called upon all the parties to ensure the prevalence of conditions necessary for the successful implementation of the Agreement.

At the SADC extraordinary summit held in Maputo earlier this month, the regional heads of State or Government evaluated the degree of implementation of the Lusaka Agreement and reviewed the work of the commissions with a view to the adoption of appropriate measures for the rapid normalization of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. SADC strongly believes that for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in that country, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement remains the only valid instrument. We also believe that any solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo demands a strong and structured partnership between the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and SADC in order to guarantee an expeditious implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, signed by all parties involved in the conflict.

The international community has played a significant role in the search for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. While expressing our appreciation for the contribution rendered so far, we must underscore the need for a more timely and effective action at this crucial stage of the Congolese peace process.

The ceasefire in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is, like any other ceasefire, fragile and sensitive, with difficulties inherent in its holding. However, these difficulties should not deter the taking of necessary actions to prevent its unravelling. Therefore, the international community should not wait for a perfect ceasefire in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to play a meaningful role in this country's peace process, or sit idle and witness the collapse of the process.

The actions of the United Nations must also be seen as supportive to the quick confidence-building necessary to the parties for a smooth disengagement, demobilization and disarmament, and, more importantly, for a successful internal dialogue.

The appointment by the parties of a Facilitator of that dialogue in the person of Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, constitutes a great breakthrough. We thank him for having accepted this challenge. Knowing his brilliant qualities as a statesman of long experience, and with his love of peace, we are confident that he will succeed in his endeavours.

In processes such as this one, any momentum should always be seized to foster progress and protect positive agreements.

In the ongoing international efforts to bring about peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the United Nations Secretary-General has played a very important role. We applaud his actions, particularly the appointment of his Special Representative, Ambassador Kamel Morjane, the sending of a Special Envoy to solve problems on the ground, his various reports to the Security Council and the deployment of 79 military observers. We encourage him to continue his efforts towards a durable peace in that sisterly country. We are confident that the presence of the United Nations on the ground will deter violations of the ceasefire and restore hope to the suffering Congolese people.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council should not, therefore, transfer this responsibility solely to the belligerents, to the neighbouring countries or to the region. The belligerents have already created enough of a basis for us, as the United Nations, to take up our responsibilities. We would be the ones to blame if, by our hesitation, we were to let the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo deteriorate. The decision to devote the month of January to debating African issues, such as AIDS and the conflicts in Burundi, Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to mention just a few, is for us a clear indication of the importance the Security Council attaches to African problems.

The moment has now come for the United Nations to assume its responsibility with regard to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In this regard, SADC member States call on the Security Council to adopt concrete measures to implement expeditiously the Lusaka Agreement. Time is of the essence, because a lost opportunity may never be recovered.

In one of his reports, the Secretary-General requested the Security Council to authorize the deployment of 500 military liaison observers as the next stage of deployment of the United nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). We feel that the Secretary-General has made this proposal in awareness of the difficult situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but also based on the tasks so far accomplished. SADC supports the Secretary-General's proposal and urges the Security Council to adopt a resolution authorizing the deployment of the military liaison observers as the next step for a subsequent, robust United Nations presence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It should be made clear that this is only an intermediary phase for the speedy deployment of a full-fledged United Nations peacekeeping operation.

We firmly believe that the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo can no longer afford further delays in the establishment of a full-fledged United Nations peacekeeping mission with an appropriate mandate under Chapter VII and with adequate numbers, taking into account the size of the country and the magnitude and complexity of the conflict. This United Nations mission should be provided with the necessary logistical means for its successful operation.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has resulted in the unfolding of a humanitarian tragedy in that country. As stated in the Secretary-General's report (S/2000/30), a large number of people are facing critical food insecurity. There are also a large number of internally displaced persons and refugees. To these problems, we can add the high rate of disease. The situation demands urgent action. We appeal to the international community to provide humanitarian assistance for those in need, as well as resources for the process of national reconstruction.

What credibility would the Security Council have if its role were converted into keeping the peace only in countries where the people of the country had already done so fully? We recall the sad moment in 1992 in Mozambique, when we had to wait for over six months after the signing of the pace agreement, keeping peace by ourselves while both belligerent parties still had their weapons in their hands, before the arrival of the international peacekeepers. Only we, the Mozambicans, in spite of the praise we received from the international community, know the damage caused to our country by that delay and hesitation — hesitation, yes, not only in sending forces on time, but also in allocating substantial resources for the process of reintegration of demobilized persons and for the creation of new institutions to pursue efficiently the maintenance of peace and security for our citizens after the withdrawal of the United Nations forces.

Let us give the United Nations a chance to reinforce its credibility before its member States and humanity. This is an opportunity; let us decide now.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Mozambique for his very important statement. I also note his current chairmanship of the Southern African Development Community (SADC); I think this gives added weight to some of the points that he has made. I would also like to thank him for his kind words addressed to the American presidency.

I now call on Mr. Laurent-Désiré Kabila, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

President Kabila (*spoke in French*): The Democratic Republic of the Congo is glad that the Security Council has convened this special meeting on the war of aggression imposed on it by Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi since 2 August 1998. Indeed, only the strict observance by every member of the United Nations of the principles enshrined in the Charter, as the Council well knows, makes it possible to establish and maintain international peace and security, which is the paramount purpose of the United nations, as explicitly set forth in Article I of the Charter.

I welcome the Security Council's awareness of this situation after more than 18 months of breaches of peace and security and violations of the political independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of a United Nations Member State by other Member States.

Before continuing, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the American presidency of the Security Council in the month of January 2000 for taking this welcome initiative.

In 1997, the brave Congolese people, under my leadership and under that of many other compatriots who had the same beliefs, put an end to 32 years of the most corrupt dictatorship in Africa. We did not take on this act of salvation in order to prolong the suffering of our people; we did it so that the Democratic Republic of the Congo could resume its seat in the concert of nations, at a time of unprecedented regional and global change.

Despite the aggression against my country, I was bold enough to sign the Lusaka Agreement because I am a man of peace and because the Congolese people want peace. I am here in New York today, visiting for the first time, because the Lusaka Agreement is deadlocked. The Agreement is not working, and the Congolese people's thirst for peace has not been quenched.

Even though history has not always been kind to my country, we are a people that knows how to forgive, and I am here today once again to offer my hand of reconciliation to those who have done us harm. For this goodwill to be effective, it must be mutual. Here, I would like to highlight that the Lusaka Agreement has failed to achieve its objectives. The Agreement, which is based on Security Council resolution 1234 (1999), will not be able to restore peace to our region unless it demands, first, a real and immediate ceasefire; secondly, a deployment of United Nations forces that would systematically replace the troops of the aggressor countries; thirdly, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the uninvited aggressor forces; and, lastly, the positioning of United Nations forces along the borders between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the aggressor countries.

The Congolese people and their Government therefore hope that during the course of this special meeting, the Council will be able to achieve agreement to end the occupation of a part of our national territory by the occupying armies of Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi, in conformity with the provisions of resolution 1234 (1999), which, in paragraph 2,

> "*Deplores* the continuing fighting and the presence of forces of foreign States in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in a manner inconsistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and *calls upon* those States to bring to an end the presence of these uninvited forces and to take immediate steps to that end".

Together with our allies in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), we are currently trying to ensure respect for the principle of the maintenance of the territorial integrity of our country. We are not doing so in a spirit of ill will towards our neighbours, even though they are occupying a large part of our territory.

Let us recall that Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4, of the Charter of the United Nations requires Members to settle their international disputes by peaceful means. It also calls on them to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. Those are the words of the United Nations Charter.

As soon as we came to power, we announced a political democratization programme, designed to lead to the organization of free and transparent elections within two years. Only the war prevented us from completing that programme, parts of which had already begun, in particular the elaboration of a draft constitution by a commission on institutional reform and the convening of a constituent assembly.

As for the argument about our pursuit of the Interahamwe and other armed groups that are present in our territory, I should like to say here and now that that argument is as fallacious as others that have been made. I should simply like to say to this Council that my Government cannot ally itself, and will never ally itself, with people who carry out genocide. We condemn the genocide that took place in Rwanda in 1994, just as we strongly condemn the massacre of hundreds of thousands of women, children and elderly people during our struggle against the dictatorship of Mobutu by my former allies, who today are invading my country. They have never answered to that charge.

On the other hand, the evidence provided by prisoners of war and Rwandan deserters, corroborated by the reports of certain non-governmental human rights organizations, have exposed the forcible recruitment by the Kigali authorities of Hutu prisoners and adolescents to serve as cannon fodder in their nefarious war against the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Is there anyone who has not heard of the massacres in Kasika, Makobola, Ngweshe, Burinye, Kamituga, Kasala, Budi and Mwenga? All of us have witnessed the fighting in Kisangani, in Congolese territory, between the Rwandan aggressors and their Ugandan accomplices — confrontations during which, in addition to killing 200 Congolese, who were outnumbered, the aggressors intentionally destroyed more than 300 million doses of anti-poliomyelitis vaccine, thereby putting more than 6 million Congolese children in occupied territory at risk of contracting that lifelong disease.

Is there anyone here who is unaware of the systematic plundering of Congolese resources on and below the ground by the Rwandan, Ugandan and Burundi occupiers? Their booty — wood, diamonds, gold, cobalt

and zebras — is all being sold on the open market, including in some of the countries represented here today.

I do not need to continue with this macabre enumeration of atrocities of all kinds committed in the past, and still being committed, against our country by the forces of aggression, which, unfortunately, are being encouraged by the silence of the international community.

The fundamental question now is how we can put an immediate end to this situation, which is so intolerably humiliating to our people. Everyone must realize that there is now an urgent need to halt the illegal occupation, which is a flagrant, constant and ongoing violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Under these circumstances, is the Security Council justified in relying exclusively on the Lusaka Agreement to try to re-establish peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo? Are we not entitled to ask what has happened to the great hopes raised by the signing, on 10 July 1999, of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement?

As far as we are concerned, we signed the Lusaka Agreement in order to regain peace and stability in our country and in the Great Lakes region. We are here today to determine the extent to which the Agreement can be made more effective.

We have proposed a solution aimed at restoring our security and that of our neighbours and at addressing the desire of the Congolese people to see the uninvited forces leave our territory, as stipulated in the Agreement. The Congolese people is eager to implement the initiative I launched about a year ago to convene a national debate. That initiative is now enshrined in the Lusaka Agreement, in which it is called the national dialogue.

What are the prospects for our country and the Great Lakes region? As soon as we came to power, we undertook various initiatives to consolidate peace and stability in our country and region. Domestically, we decreed a "revolution" to pardon all the former dignitaries of the old regime, whom we called upon to help us rebuild our country. In order to end ethnic antagonism in the eastern part of our country, we established a peace commission to maintain a climate of understanding and dialogue among the rival communities. In April 1999, we convened the national debate to enable the Congolese to speak among themselves and to define the basic principles on which the new democratic political order was to be based. We issued a general amnesty to allow political exiles and so-called rebels to return to the country and to begin rebuilding it with us.

At the regional level, aware of the danger posed to the peace, security and development of our region by the existence of uncontrolled armed groups, in May 1998 we organized, with the support of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, particularly the United Nations Development Programme, a conference on security and development in the Great Lakes region. Unfortunately, the conference failed to take place, as it was boycotted by those who are committing aggression against us today.

In the interests of peace and of respect for our international commitments in the field of human rights, I launched the convening of a pan-African forum on the demobilization and social reintegration of child soldiers, held from 6 to 10 December, in which 25 countries participated.

It was this desire for peace, respect for human rights and the democratization of our country that led us, in the context of the Lusaka Agreement, to accept the holding of the inter-Congolese dialogue. The dialogue's objectives are the same as those of the national debate that we convened in April 1999: to re-establish the people as the primary sovereign power and the sole source of legitimacy; to establish the rules to be applied to the exercise of power; and to outline the framework for the operation of political parties. In a word, it is a question of preparing the bases for the new democratic political order of which our people have so long been deprived.

In this respect, I wish to point out that, as our people understand it, the inter-Congolese dialogue is precisely and solely as I have described it. The Government encourages the initiatives of the Congolese religious denominations, which have proposed convening national consultations on the national dialogue on 21 February 2000, and we invite the international community to support them in this.

We are resolved to working together with any individual who shares our values of democracy and development in order to raise our country and the Great Lakes region from poverty, insecurity, instability and war.

We call on this institution to persuade our aggressors of the need to make similar efforts to establish peace within their own countries, a prerequisite to the establishment of peace throughout our region. That is

why we welcome the incorporation of our proposal to convene an international conference on the Great Lakes region into Security Council resolution 1234 (1999).

As far as I am concerned, I am ready to begin the national dialogue today. The Congolese people and I await the imminent arrival in Kinshasa of the new Facilitator, the former President of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire. We wish to assure him of our support and encourage him to establish contact with the religious groups and all those who seek peace so that, together, they can clear the way for the holding of the national dialogue.

We certainly need the United Nations, despite the fact that we had a bad experience with the Organization at the time of our independence. We recognize that, in the interim, the United Nations of which we are all Members has gained almost 40 years of experience in peacekeeping.

I myself wish publicly to express my support for the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We had a few problems and misunderstandings early on in their deployment. I therefore wish to reassure the Security Council and the Secretary-General that my Government will do its utmost to ensure their security and to support the members of the Joint Military Commission when it is established in Kinshasa. I wish to reiterate in all solemnity that any Congolese who wishes to come to Kinshasa to participate in the national dialogue will be able to do so in full security.

My Government and I seek only peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region. We therefore seek the establishment of a system based on democratic principles and prosperity founded on the sound management of the economy and of my country's significant resources. On behalf of my Government and the Congolese people, I wish most sincerely to thank the President and members of the Security Council and the Secretary-General for having given us this opportunity to meet with a view to restoring peace and justice to my people.

I should like once again to reiterate to all members of the Security Council my country's full respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter, by which we are all bound.

To my friends, the heads of State present here today, I wish to say in all sincerity that they can count on me and my delegation to discuss openly and seriously the ways and means of putting an end to this tragic war, so that together we may rebuild a region in which our peoples can live in peace.

The President: I thank the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for his very important statement, and I appreciate very much his coming to the United States for this discussion about his country. I also thank him very much for his kind words addressed to the American presidency.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, President of the Republic of Angola.

President dos Santos *(spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation)*: I would like to thank the Council for having invited me to take part in this meeting of the Security Council dedicated to an analysis of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

At a time when we thought that, with the end of the so-called cold war, the world would embark upon a new era of peace and cooperation for development, events began to unfold in Africa that are frustrating many of our expectations. Local conflicts increased and the economic and social situation in many countries began to deteriorate. We also witnessed the emergence of other misfortunes, such as transnational crime, drug trafficking and intolerance of every nature, especially intolerance based on ethnic and religious grounds.

It is precisely to discuss one of these conflicts — the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo — that we are gathered here today. The intensification and escalation of this conflict threaten to involve ever more neighbouring countries. This country, one of the largest in Africa, is extremely rich in natural resources. It has a population of over 50 million inhabitants and shares common borders with nine other countries. For many years it was ruled by a dictatorial regime that transformed the country into a permanent base for aggression and destabilization against all the countries of the region, especially Angola.

Poor governance, oppression and the failure of the economic system led the country into discredit at the international level and produced a chaotic domestic situation that forced hundreds of thousands of its citizens to immigrate to neighbouring countries, thereby compelling those countries to reinforce the control and protection of their borders. When the internal political opposition organized itself to confront the regime, some

of its members decided to carry out an armed struggle of national liberation from the eastern region. All the affected countries supported the forces of liberation and change for the establishment of democracy. Angola, of course, joined in that regional effort, together with Rwanda and Uganda.

In this context, Angola ended up a short time later assuming the role of a strategic ally in conducting the war and the political process that culminated with the victory of the Congolese people over the dictatorship. When the new Government was instituted and the then Zaire became the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the hopes of all the Congolese people were reborn. Taking into account the chaotic situation that existed and the heavy legacy it inherited, it was implicitly assumed that the Government would be given a grace period by its people and by the international community to re-establish peace, re-organize the political and economic systems and mobilize society so as to strengthen national unity and rebuild the country.

But that did not happen. Within less than a year, Angola was surprised by the outbreak of a new war in the country and was once again forced to intervene in order to avoid bloodshed and contain the threat of escalation of this new war on its borders. Once this threat to its own security was eliminated, as well as the threat of disintegration to this sister country, Angola immediately sought to join in the search for a solution to the internal conflict of the Democratic Republic of the Congo through dialogue and regional consultations.

Accordingly, the Angolan Government approved the results of the Pretoria meeting, as well as the principles adopted at the Victoria Falls summit held in Zimbabwe. Unfortunately, these principles were not fully incorporated into the Lusaka accords of July and August 1999. The omission of the principle that the legitimacy and authority of the present Government and President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo should be recognized leaves room for some confusion and uncertainty. A Government that has not been militarily defeated cannot accept to capitulate at the negotiating table.

The accords provide for a military and a political process to bring about a solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, their principal shortcoming is that they limit to some extent the sovereignty of the power instituted and place it on an equal footing with the forces that oppose it through violent and illegal means. At the same time, external aggression is dealt with in a very moderate fashion.

It is also important to recognize that significant changes have occurred in the region since the signing of the accords. This new situation allows for a better understanding of the different links existing between the rebel forces in the region and, at the same time, creates better conditions for a rapid solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This is why the United Nations, in addition to guaranteeing the actions provided for in the accords — namely, the disarming and demilitarization of the rebel forces — also has an immediate and special responsibility to proceed to interpositioning and separating the warring forces so as to uphold the cease-fire and avoid new violations. To this end, we ask that the United Nations act expeditiously by sending peacekeeping forces and by increasing logistical and financial support.

With a view to making the Lusaka accords operational and speed up their implementation, allow me to make the following suggestions.

The disarmament of the rebel forces should be accelerated and a single national army should be formed. The authority of the present Government should be recognized as that of a Government of transition that should lead the country to legislative and presidential elections, to be held under the supervision of the international community. Security guarantees must be established for the installation of the rebel leaders in the country's capital and their integration into the transitional political process. National debate, or national dialogue, as it is being called here, should focus on discussion of a provisional constitution of the Republic, of electoral law and mechanisms for voter registration and of laws to regulate political parties. The new institutions should start operating as soon as elections are held. The elected parliament should play the role of a constituent assembly and be entrusted with approving the final constitution of the Republic.

The Great Lakes conflict is still ongoing and is closely linked to the development of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the ceasefire has been continuously violated and the rebel forces have not yet been disarmed, due to the lack of trust between the parties. Furthermore, the ways and means of disarming the Interahamwe forces, as provided for in the Lusaka accords, remain to be determined. These accords fail to offer any political guarantees for these elements.

It seems to me that there is also a need for an internal political agreement for Rwanda, Uganda and

Burundi. This way the the Great Lakes issue could be resolved. Therefore, the United Nations should commit itself to seeking a peaceful and democratic solution to this crisis. It should tackle this with the same seriousness as it has in crises of other parts of the world. Three years ago, we welcomed the proposals of the Secretary-General on Africa. These proposals entailed a programme of concrete actions designed to prevent and resolve regional conflicts and to accelerate development in African countries over the following decade, emphasizing the health and education of new generations as high priorities, among other far-reaching measures destined to achieve good governance and to strengthen and stabilize the democratic institutions.

We trust that at the end of these meetings, thanks to the wisdom and goods sense of members, concrete measures will be taken to affirm and consolidate peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and across the entire Central African region, including the Great Lakes region.

Madam President, I wish you every success in your presidency.

The President: I thank the distinguished President of the Republic of Angola for his statement and for his kind words addressed to the American presidency.

I call on His Excellency Mr. Robert G. Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Mr. Mugabe: Madam President, we are pleased to see you chairing this special series of meetings of the Security Council on Africa devoted to the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We recall with satisfaction the special meeting of the Security Council also dealing with Africa, held in 1997 under the presidency of your country, which you also chaired. We welcome the interest your country has thus continued to demonstrate with regard to the problems facing the African continent.

We also wish to thank all the members of the Security Council who have actively supported the holding of this particular session, devoted exclusively to the pursuit of peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, deserves our gratitude for the several reports and recommendations he has made to the Security Council on the need for peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Finally we all acknowledge that it is the drive and energy of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke which have brought us to this session on Africa. We thank you, Mr. Ambassador, for all the efforts you have exerted to bring this session about.

Madam President, as part of your "month of Africa" platform, the Security Council has deliberated on the scourge of HIV/AIDS in Africa, which you quite rightly identified as constituting a threat to the security of African States. You have also discussed the pathetic plight of refugees and displaced persons. I am advised that the Security Council, together with other international agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the World Bank and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), agreed that an effective strategy must be worked out to fight these scourges that are devastating the African continent. We join you, Madam President, in this crusade. We appeal to one and all to accept this challenge in the interest of humanity. Our mutual interests must make all of us acknowledge human interdependence and force us to embark on the task to mobilize international support against HIV/AIDS and in alleviation of the condition of African refugees, including internally displaced persons.

Furthermore, we note that the Council has already addressed the pressing problems of Angola and Burundi. However, today the Council is holding a special meeting devoted to the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as enshrined in Chapter I, Article 2, of the United Nations Charter. We, the African leaders from the region, key actors in a conflict that has affected not only the Great Lakes region, but also the countries of southern Africa — a conflict that arises from the violation of sacred tenets of the United Nations Charter and has pitted brother against brother, resulting in the death and untold suffering of hundreds of thousands of innocent people, especially women and children — are here today to demonstrate our commitment to a peaceful resolution of the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and to urge the Security Council to help us bring peace to that country.

Madam President, let me at the outset emphatically and categorically state that the Southern African Development Community (SADC) allied forces have no territorial or other hidden ambitions or agendas in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We are in the Congo at the invitation of the sovereign Government of that country and in accordance with SADC decisions on collective security. Indeed, our defense objective — that is, the defense objective of the allies — is code-named

"Sovereign Legitimacy". We are there to uphold one of the most fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign country.

The Council need not be reminded that it was in pursuit of those same fundamental principles that the international community readily went to war in the Gulf only a few years ago. It is common knowledge that it was my country that held the presidency of this body when that momentous decision was taken. It is these same fundamental principles of the Charter that, in its resolution 1234 (1999), the Council acknowledged and committed itself to uphold and protect in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. But alas, little has been done since then to implement them.

As we have said on many occasions, the SADC allied States are committed to peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the subregion as a whole. The war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a terrible tragedy for all of us in the region. It is a war that should never have taken place. We acknowledge that if there had been sufficient consultations in our region we could have avoided it. Lessons have been learned from this tragedy. That is why from the very onset of the conflict the SADC allied States advocated dialogue as a means of settling the conflict. To advance that peace objective, several summits were held, beginning with that held at Victoria Falls on 7 and 8 August 1998, and followed by several others held respectively at Pretoria on 23 August 1998, at Durban in September 1998, and again at Victoria Falls on 7 and 8 September 1998, culminating in the ceremony for the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement on 10 July 1999.

Even as we fought each other in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we never believed that the conflict could be settled by force of arms alone. It was always clear to us that negotiations, in the end, were the logical and sensible way of resolving the conflict. The Lusaka Peace Agreement is a vindication of the collective wisdom of the parties to the conflict in choosing dialogue over arms as the best way to end the conflict. Some members of the region indeed made a serious mistake by initiating the conflict in the first place. But today, all members have shown courage, vision and wisdom in negotiating an end to the conflict. We are here, therefore, to call upon the Council, as the custodian of peace and security in the world, to assume its role and responsibility by immediately sending both observers and peacekeepers to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. To date, the Security Council has, to our disappointment, been slow and hesitant in welcoming and strengthening our regional peace agreement.

The months that have elapsed since the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement have been most frustrating, as they have exposed the dangers inherent in delayed action by the Council in supporting the peace process in the Congo. In a situation without observers and monitors, for months on end, troops and their commanders on the ground were expected to rely on the good faith of their erstwhile opponents, whom they suspect of being cunning and skilful, as all practitioners of the art of war are trained to be. In such a situation, it is inevitable that the commanders will always try their utmost to ensure that their men are not exposed to sudden attack, or somehow encircled or outmanoeuvred by the other side. Any troop movements by one side are read and interpreted as threats by the other and have, on occasion, led to violations of the Ceasefire Agreement. While this is regrettable, we, as parties to the Agreement, have exercised maximal restraint despite the number of violations that have occurred in the context of the unsupervised and unmonitored Ceasefire Agreement. Indeed, full-scale war has not resumed, and the Agreement has continued to remain broadly in place, as important elements of the Agreement have, in spite of the problem of resources, continued to be implemented by the parties.

The Joint Military Commission established as envisaged by the Agreement has been functioning despite resource constraints. The Commission is present in four regions, as President Chiluba has said, with headquarters in three of them: Kabinda, Boende and Lisala. It has developed programmes on such key tasks as the withdrawal of foreign troops, the disarming of armed groups, disengagement of forces, release of prisoners, and the provision of humanitarian corridors. The Political Committee of ministers, another institution envisaged in the Lusaka Agreement, has been established and has been meeting often to carry out its important responsibilities of guiding the peace process.

At its last sitting, held in Harare last week, on 17 and 18 January, the Committee took some quite important decisions with a view to promoting the peace process. First it, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the fundamental nature of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement as a basis for solving the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Secondly, it solemnly recommitted all the parties

to the Lusaka Agreement and to the faithful observance of the provisions of that Agreement. Thirdly, it designated 18 January 2000 as the date on which parties to the Agreement restated — that is, renewed — their commitment to the Agreement. The effect of that decision is to make "R-Day" — Restatement Day — replace the "D-Day" of earlier arrangements for all the remaining tasks under the agreement. This was an important decision in view of the difficulties that had arisen to establish a "D-Day" in the Lusaka peace process, since the various parties had signed the Ceasefire Agreement on different dates.

Besides those institutions, we have the recent appointment of our brother, His Excellency Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, as the Facilitator to promote the Congolese national dialogue, a crucial aspect of the Lusaka Peace Agreement. These and many other key elements have now been accomplished. Much that has been achieved has been done largely using the resources of the belligerents and of donors. Some donors have pledged support for these efforts, and we say "thank you" to them. We now wish to urge those that have made pledges and have not yet honoured them to do so, and those that have not yet pledged to consider doing so.

As partners involved in the search for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we, the countries of the region, are disappointed and frustrated by what we perceive as the lethargic manner in which the Security Council has responded to our call for assistance and urgent action. To date, after months of procrastination and foot-dragging, we do not seem to be any closer to any action by the Council on the deployment of the much-needed and long-awaited peacekeeping force in the Congo. The closest thing we have to the much-desired action programme is the recent Security Council decision authorizing the Secretary-General "to take the administrative steps necessary for the equipping of up to 500 United Nations military observers with a view to facilitating future ... United Nations deployments". (*resolution 1279 (1999), para. 9)* We say, "Good intention, yes, but no good action to follow the good intention". A review of the Security Council's decisions and actions so far yields the depressing impression that there has been too much time spent on the diagnosis of the situation when the prescription that ought to be administered is already known. In these circumstances, considering the alacrity with which the questions of Kosovo and Bosnia were handled, Africa feels marginalized, neglected and, dare I say it, segregated.

Madam President, when Ambassador Holbrooke visited Zimbabwe, we raised the question of what we perceived as double standards in the Security Council's handling of Africa's problems. With respect to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we pointed out that because of the magnitude of the human tragedy in that country, none of us could afford to appear on the stage wearing only the mask of commitment; we said that a credible performance was essential. We told him that some members of the Security Council appeared to be aligned against the sovereign independence and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or at least to be in favour of those who would deny it. However, we were assured that your great country, the United States, would never countenance acts that violated international agreements. We were told that your concern was that the United Nations had got it wrong twice in Africa, namely in Somalia and in Rwanda, and, hence that it had to exercise caution.

We noted these points, but we now say the time has come for prompt action if the Security Council genuinely desires to buttress the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Any further delays can only be detrimental to the achievement of the objectives of peace in that country. While we are well advised to heed the lessons of history, we should not allow ourselves to be paralysed by them. The Security Council still has a unique opportunity to redeem itself and restore faith in the United Nations, among the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in particular and of Africa in general. Let us remind ourselves of the betrayal of the Congo in the 1960s, when the Congolese nationalist leader, Patrice Lumumba, met his tragic death, and the opportunity for peace and nationhood was dashed because the Security Council, then, as now, had abdicated its responsibilities.

I call upon this body to heed the heartbeats of the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Let us help them emerge from the great suffering that has afflicted them. Our presence here as African leaders has indeed raised their hopes, and dashing those hopes will do them irreparable damage.

The people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo await our bold decision eagerly so that they can drive from their midst the spectre of national disintegration. They yearn for the unity of their country so they can banish the hatred that is the handmaiden of civil strife. They look forward to using their independence and freedom in pursuit of the socio-economic goals and ideals of democracy essential for the development of their nation.

What the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo now require from this meeting of the Security Council, and what we of the region also require, is not more talk of sending observers to their country, but the invoking of Chapter VII of the Charter and the urgent dispatch of peacekeepers to keep the peace. This Council has been observing the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo from afar for too long; it should now go into the country and try to keep the peace. The message is, peacekeepers now.

Let us agree to send this message of hope to the Congolese people. I want to assure the Council of my nation's commitment to playing its part in affording them the opportunity to work for their destiny free from aggression and interference in their domestic affairs.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe for his very important and constructive statement and for his characteristically straight talk, which I appreciate deeply. I also thank him for his kind words to the American presidency.

I now give the floor to Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda.

President Museveni: I should first of all like to echo the congratulations which I know my delegation has already extended to you, Madam President, and your country, the United States, on assuming the Presidency of the Security Council for the first month of the new millennium. I also want to salute your initiative, supported by this Council, to give the highest priority to the consideration of African matters this month.

I thank the Secretary-General for his incisive statement and for his report on the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The report should help focus the discussion of the issue before the Council today.

It is my view that this occasion is not one on which we want to dwell on the background to the unfortunate situation in the Congo that has made the political and security situation in the Great Lakes region so precarious and fragile. I have, since the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo began in 1995, categorically stated the Uganda position on the conflict. I also dispatched two special envoys — our Prime Minister and our Minister of State for Foreign Affairs — to come to the Council to discuss the issues involved.

I will therefore only restate that Uganda and, indeed, the other neighbouring countries of the Democratic Republic of the Congo have legitimate security concerns, which, fortunately, have now been recognized by the region in the Lusaka Agreement, and also by the international community. In fact, a meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and of Defence, which met in Lusaka, Zambia from 14 to 16 January 1999, established a committee on the security concerns of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its neighbouring countries, whose terms of reference included working out a mechanism to fully and satisfactorily address those concerns.

Secondly, our region, which had just witnessed a most gruesome genocide in Rwanda, in 1994, was on the verge of yet another catastrophe of ghastly proportions as a result of the fallout from the ouster of the murderous regimes of the late Presidents Habyarimana of Rwanda and Mobutu of Zaire. The events that followed, which were to pit our armies against each other, are well known to the Council.

Thirdly, the Security Council must be cognizant of the terrorist role played by the Islamic regime of the Sudan, sometimes using the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, with or without cooperation from Kinshasa, to destabilize the neighbouring countries. The situation in Central Africa, unfortunately, divided for the first time the former anti-colonial freedom fighters of Africa. This is a very unfortunate episode in our history, and we must resolutely put an end to it.

Africans are not new actors on the international political stage. We fought injustice and oppression as a united front for many years. This was one of the reasons that caused us to append our signatures to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement as a concrete framework for ending the sad events in our region. We take the Lusaka accord very seriously and challenge all the parties to do likewise.

I have stated before, and reaffirm, that the Lusaka accord deserves our total support because it addresses, in a comprehensive way, all legitimate and security concerns of all the parties. It addresses the long, drawn-out internal problems of the Congo right from the time of Mobutu. Secondly, it addresses the concerns of the neighbours, including Uganda. Thirdly, and most importantly, it restores the unity of Africa. Lastly, it promises peace and prosperity in our region, because, with its full implementation, we can turn our whole

attention to issues of national and regional development. For all these reasons, we will oppose any parties that adopt an adventurous attitude that flouts this Agreement. I take this opportunity to renew Uganda's total and unequivocal support for the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

I know that my colleagues have variously alluded to the salient provisions of the Lusaka accord. I will nevertheless repeat some of them, so that this Council may take them into account in charting the way forward.

The Agreement provided for a ceasefire and troop standstill, and, as I mentioned earlier, a Political Committee is in place to work out the details of the ceasefire and the modalities of its implementation. We urge that the work of this team be supported by the international community and that, when a fully fledged united international involvement is agreed upon, the Committee's activities be coordinated with those of the United Nations Mission.

The security concerns of the neighbouring countries and of the Congo have been recognized, and a committee has been established to resolve the question of the destabilization of neighbouring countries by elements operating from the Congo territory. In this regard, we agree with the recommendation of the Secretary-General that to create the conditions for a lasting peace in the subregion it is vital to include the security of the borders of the States concerned, their territorial integrity and their full enjoyment of their natural resources, and that at the appropriate time a regional conference on peace and security in the region must be convened.

I therefore see as a red herring the repeated talk about the territorial integrity of the Congo, because this is not the issue. The issue is not the territorial integrity of the Congo. My country supports the territorial integrity of all the countries in Africa, so the territorial integrity of the Congo is not the issue. It has not been the issue throughout this conflict.

The issues are as follows. It is important for the Security Council to remember that since 1960, approximately 1.2 million Rwandans, 400,000 Burundians, 800,000 Ugandans and many Congolese have been exterminated extra-judicially by the fascist regimes of Kayibanda and Habyarimana, leaders of Rwanda; Michombero of Burundi; Idi Amin, the monster of Uganda; and Mobutu. This is the issue — not the territorial integrity of the Congo, not all of these red herrings that are being floated around.

In the century that has just ended, only Hitler's Germany and Pol Pot's Cambodia could compete with our area with respect to these horrific stories. We have no competition in terms of horrific stories, aside from Hitler's Germany, where 6 million people were killed, and Cambodia's Pol Pot. These are our competitors. This is the issue: the human being is the highest form of God's creation in terms of intelligence. To find, therefore, that approximately 2.5 million citizens of the contiguous countries of the Great Lakes region have been extra-judicially killed in the period from 1959 to date is something the patriots of this area have rejected for good. We will not allow ourselves to be killed without resisting. We are not chickens to be slaughtered by demented political actors. We expect the international community to support us in this. That is why the Security Council was set up.

Another red herring was floated: aggression against the Congo. I did not want to go into this; in fact, it was not part of my speech. But since someone floated this red herring, I have no alternative but to respond.

We had to fight Mobutu's regime in 1996 because it was threatening to visit another Holocaust on our area and to cause another genocide in Rwanda. As we fought Mobutu's regime, we supported Mr. Kabila, who is sitting here. When we were supporting him, he did not call us aggressors. When we supported Mr. Kabila and opposed Mr. Mobutu, we did not hate Mr. Mobutu, nor did we love Mr. Kabila. We had to defend ourselves; that was all. Unfortunately, when Mr. Kabila went into the Government, he forgot about our original problems and why we had supported him. This is inconsistent. Today they are allies, tomorrow aggressors. I do not think that this is consistent.

In the Lusaka Agreement, the opposition groups in the Congo should be involved in the peace process in order to ensure that they cooperate fully in its implementation. We expect a neutral international peacekeeping force to be deployed as an interpositional force in the Congo under the auspices of the United Nations. That is why we propose that this United Nations mission to the Congo should be established under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in order to enable it to effectively deal with questions of disarmament, demobilization and the protection of civilians.

We expect all foreign troops to withdraw in accordance with a timetable to be worked out according

to the Lusaka Agreement, by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), under the supervision of the United Nations interpositional force. This aspect presupposes the active cooperation of all of the parties to the Lusaka accord, especially with regard to the obligation to guarantee the security of United Nations and related personnel. Here again I would like to assure the Council of the total cooperation of Uganda.

We also expect that a national conference involving all Congolese political stakeholders will be convened as soon as possible, with the assistance of the OAU and the new facilitator, Sir Ketumile Masire, to determine the political future of the Congo. Uganda supports the appointment of retired President Masire as the facilitator and the reaffirmation of President Chiluba in Maputo as a coordinator of the peace process.

Mr. Holbrooke (United States of America) took the Chair.

We recognize, of course, that these are complex and huge undertakings. The renewal and strengthening of our commitment to carrying them out, as we have just done, should, however, provide the first concrete step forward. We, the regional leaders, must be seen to lead the way. This is what I believe we are here for. However, as I have already mentioned, the international community also has to demonstrate clear and concrete support for the efforts we as Africans are undertaking.

Recent events in all parts of the world have clearly demonstrated that conflict and war are not exclusively African phenomena. They can happen anywhere for a variety of reasons, including the most rampant — that is, the fanning of racial and ethnic hatred. The response of the international community must be even-handed and not lopsided.

The magnitude of an effective United Nations involvement in the Congo, given its size, and, as I said, the complexity of the situation, will be large and certainly costly. The Secretary-General confirms this in his report. But the cost of inaction, as we witnessed in Rwanda, would be too ghastly, more costly and morally repugnant. I appeal to the Council to act now to avoid this type of unfortunate happening. It is the hope of Uganda that the United Nations mandate will be under chapter seven of the United Nations Agreement that thoroughly equips the United Nations to play its part fully.

I should like to conclude by once again reiterating our appreciation to the President and to the Council for affording us this opportunity to discuss a very important and urgent priority that has dogged Africa for four decades now, starting with the murder of Patrice Lumumba in 1961. We are happy that this is taking place here at the United Nations and particularly in the Security Council, whose primary mandate is the maintenance of international peace and security. This should mark the beginning of a new era of reconciliation, peace, stability and prosperity in the Great Lakes region. The timing of this dialogue could not be more appropriate.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America) returned to the Chair.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Uganda for his important and strong statement, and for his kind words addressed to the American presidency.

I now call on His Excellency Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, President of the Republic of Rwanda.

President Bizimungu: I would like to express my country's appreciation for the initiative taken by the current presidency of the Security Council to devote some time to and to focus on Africa's problems. Our personal participation in this meeting is out of the conviction that we can move away from the rhetoric to concrete actions in our search for solutions to Africa's problems.

Exactly six years ago, in this very Chamber, and indeed in the United Nations Secretariat, there were numerous debates on the events that were engulfing my country, Rwanda. Sitting in the United Nations Security Council as a Rwandese, I cannot help but reflect on what led to the establishment of this important body. When the United Nations Charter was adopted in San Francisco in 1945, and when the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was adopted in Geneva in 1948, the spirit was, "Never again shall we let it happen".

I will not delve into what went wrong in the United Nations during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, or what went wrong in Rwanda itself. I believe the story is well known. Indeed, there have been many versions, which led the Secretary-General to appoint an Independent Inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. That commission of inquiry, led by Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, recently produced its report.

It is a very important report, and it should be given special attention for two reasons; first, its relevance to the problem of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and second, its specifics on Rwanda and United Nations operations since 1993.

There should be no mere *mea culpa* attitude to this report, but rather a practical approach that addresses the consequences of our inaction. I took note of the words pronounced by our Secretary-General upon receiving the Carlsson report. He stated,

> "of all my aims as the Secretary-General, there is none to which I feel more deeply committed than that of enabling the United Nations never again to fail in protecting a civilian population from genocide or mass slaughter".

This is what today's debate is all about. A debate on the situation in what has become known as the Great Lakes region, and more particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo, is a debate on how we can get our act together to prevent and punish the crime of genocide, mass murder, war crimes and international terrorism.

When we failed to stop genocide in Rwanda, those who committed it got away into what was then Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Two subsequent United Nations investigations established that these criminal elements were utilizing Congo territory to launch attacks through Rwanda and the neighbours, utilizing refugee camps and enjoying protection under international law. The decision to end that scandal failed to raise our collective enthusiasm. It was later established that these forces — Ex-FARS and Interahamwe — linked up with other negative forces, mainly from Uganda and Burundi, set up a crime-driven network of arms supply and wrecked havoc in our countries. Once again, there was no action on the part of the United Nations. Two wars linked to an attempt by our countries to protect our citizens — indeed to prevent genocide, terrorism and war crimes — ensued.

Today we want to appeal to the United Nations to take over that responsibility, through the mandate given to it by our region in the terms of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. There have been numerous efforts in the past to look for solutions at the regional and international levels. We all recall a number of Security Council resolutions on the matter. We also recall the summit meetings of Victoria Falls I and II, Pretoria, Durban, Port Louis, Nairobi, Windhoek and Dodoma. These efforts culminated in the signing of the Lusaka Agreement for a ceasefire in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

However, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement is not an end in itself. It is meant to facilitate a process of bringing a durable peace to the region. It is an expression on the part of all signatories that they have the goodwill to attend to the root causes of the present situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

I wish to declare once more my country's commitment to the principles of the Lusaka Agreement, as enunciated in its article III. I wish also to state that my country has faithfully respected the ceasefire and regrets the many violations that have so far been committed by some of the signatories. Fundamental to us is article II of the Agreement, which addresses the security of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and her neighbouring countries.

We must always recognize and deliberately work for the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement in its totality. There can be no achievement of peace and security in the region if some of the provisions of that Agreement are taken lightly. While it is true that the main burden of its implementation lies with the signatories, the role of the United Nations is equally significant. That is, indeed, why we are here today.

What does the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement ask the United Nations to do for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region? Here, I need to remind the Security Council that throughout the negotiations on the Lusaka Agreement, we engaged the United Nations in terms of what role it could play in the implementation process. Indeed, the United Nations representative signed the Agreement as a witness who participated fully in the negotiations. Our understanding is therefore that the organs of the United Nations are in full support of the Agreement. Article III, paragraph 11 (a), of the Agreement states,

> "The United Nations Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and in collaboration with the OAU, shall be requested to constitute, facilitate and deploy an appropriate peacekeeping force in the DRC to ensure implementation of this Agreement; and taking into account the peculiar situation of the DRC, mandate the peacekeeping force to track down all armed groups in the DRC. In this respect, the UN Security

> Council shall provide the requisite mandate for the peacekeeping force."

On the security of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its neighbours, the United Nations, in collaboration with the Organization of African Unity and the signatories, is expected to neutralize and remove from the Democratic Republic of the Congo all criminal forces; neutralize and disarm armed Congolese who are non-signatory forces and civilians; organize a national army, as agreed by the Congolese parties to the Agreement; and organize an orderly withdrawal of foreign forces.

With regard to the Congolese national political agenda, the Lusaka Agreement calls on the Congolese to engage in negotiations which would culminate in a new dispensation or new institutions comprising all political forces of the country. My delegation is here to urge the Security Council to favourably consider these requests contained in the Lusaka Agreement. The Council has the capacity, and it is the Council's responsibility to do so. All the Council needs to do is to muster the moral authority and courage to do it.

The very first step is obviously to ensure that the ceasefire holds, while other mechanisms are being put in place. We have already had many predictable ceasefire violations. The proper deployment of the United Nations monitors, although of paramount importance, is not a sufficient deterrent. The commitment to this Agreement can be tested, or, better still, reinforced, only through its implementation. That is why we believe that plans to deploy a peacekeeping force in the Democratic Republic of the Congo must be elaborated now, and not tomorrow.

Those who closely follow military activities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are also aware of air drops of arms, munitions and other war *matériel*, which are being distributed to the negative forces. The Security Council has full responsibility to halt such activities.

The Joint Military Commission (JMC), which is a very important organ in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, has started its work. I want to place on record our appreciation to those countries that have contributed financially or made pledges to the JMC budget. May I also appeal for these pledges to be quickly made available. We, the members of the JMC, also have the duty to ensure that the JMC is more dynamic in fulfilling its task. Our representatives on the Joint Military Commission have already made recommendations on a number of issues, including the determination of humanitarian corridors, exchange of prisoners of war and working relations with the International Committee of the Red Cross; mechanisms and procedures for disengagement; mechanisms for disarming and tracking down the perpetrators of crimes against humanity; and a plan for the withdrawal of foreign forces.

But these will remain a dead letter if the Security Council's commitment and mandate remain vague. We are pleased that, finally, all the Congolese parties have agreed on a facilitator; former President Masire has all our blessings.

I therefore call upon the Security Council to adopt an enabling resolution for a comprehensive implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. Rwanda is prepared to adopt any measure which can expedite that implementation.

Let me conclude by reiterating the responsibility of the United Nations to the Rwandese people. We must find a forum in which the Carlsson report can be fully debated and its recommendations implemented. In this regard, the report suggests that

> "The international community should support efforts in Rwanda to rebuild the society after the genocide, paying particular attention to the need for reconstruction, reconciliation and respect for human rights, and bearing in mind the different needs of survivors, returning refugees and other groups affected by the genocide." (*S/1999/1257, annex, pp. 53-54*)

It is in this spirit that my country wishes to engage the United Nations fraternity to ensure that this report does not gather dust on United Nations shelves like so many others before it. I sincerely hope that our deliberations today will inspire the Security Council to move forward more resolutely and give our region reasons for hope and confidence for the future.

The President: I thank the President of the Republic of Rwanda for his important and strong statement and for the kind words he addressed to the American presidency.

I now give the floor to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary- General of the Organization of African Unity.

Mr. Salim: I would like at the outset to express my appreciation to the United States presidency of the

Security Council, and in particular to Secretary of State Albright and Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, for undertaking the important initiative of devoting the month of January in the Security Council to dealing with African issues. We are indeed encouraged by this initiative, which acknowledges the magnitude of the challenges that our continent is currently confronted with and the need for determined and concerted efforts to address them.

In deliberating on these issues, I am confident that the Security Council will appreciate the efforts that are being deployed within the continent to contain the scourge of conflict, disease, economic deprivation and poverty. Indeed, hardly a day passes without initiatives, measures and efforts being made by Africans designed to address the various challenges confronting our continent. However, crucial as these efforts by Africans themselves and their leaders are, if they are to have an effective and sustainable impact, they need clearly to be strongly supported by the rest of the international community.

This particular meeting of the Security Council is devoted to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The unprecedented presence of so many African heads of State at this special meeting is clear testimony to the seriousness with which they and the rest of Africa view the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It also reflects their determination to continue to assume their responsibility for seeking a lasting solution to this African problem, whose magnitude and dimension have far-reaching implications. This impressive presence of African heads of State at this Security Council meeting also represents their expectations and hopes for greater solidarity and support from the rest of the international community to complement Africa's own efforts.

This hope and these expectations are predicated within the context of international partnership that is anchored in the concept of our global village, with commonly shared values and destiny. Such international solidarity and partnership will achieve its full potential and significance only when it clearly manifests itself in more coherent and concrete actions by all of us working together to address the many crises affecting our common humanity, particularly, problems of insecurity, instability and underdevelopment in Africa. I need not stress, in this regard, the special nature of the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its consequences for that country, for the region and for the continent of Africa as a whole.

On our part, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) has spared no effort in supporting the regional efforts to end the conflict based on the principles enshrined in the OAU Charter, particularly the cardinal principles of respect for the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of its member States and the peaceful settlement of disputes. On the basis of our attachment to these principles and our concern that these same principles have been under serious threat in the Democratic Republic of the Congo because of the internal and external dimensions of that conflict, we, in tandem with the region and other partners, have worked assiduously to bring an end to the conflict.

These combined efforts culminated in the signing of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, which constitutes a unique instrument for forging peace and understanding based on the cooperation and good faith of the parties, as well as on the support of the international community.

Since the coming into effect of the Lusaka Agreement at the end of August 1999, the Organization of African Unity has made sustained efforts to fulfil its share of responsibilities for its implementation. In this endeavour, we have been working very closely with all the parties concerned. We have, in particular, benefited from the support and untiring efforts of President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, the coordinator of the regional peace efforts, and all his colleagues in the region.

We have also worked closely with the current Chairman of the OAU, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, and other African Leaders, who continue to demonstrate serious concern about the situation and actively engage in support of the efforts to resolve the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. At every stage, we have endeavoured to coordinate our efforts with those of the United Nations, as our experiences in dealing with conflict situations in Africa point to the need for us to act in a comprehensive and coordinated manner.

I wish to underscore the daunting difficulties that are being confronted in the process of implementing the Lusaka Agreement. In particular, we have had to work hard and persevere to mobilize the necessary financial and logistical support to facilitate the establishment of the Joint Military Commission (JMC) at its temporary headquarters in Lusaka and the deployment of the local joint military commissions in three out of the four identified areas within the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In this context, it should be noted that the enthusiasm and goodwill that were demonstrated by our partners at the time of the negotiations and signature of the Lusaka Agreement were not accompanied by the required level of support. This was particularly evident when resources were sought to establish the Joint Military Commission, the main organ responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement pending the deployment of the peacekeeping mission by the United Nations. As we meet today, the support given to assist the JMC to perform its tasks has been far below its essential requirements. Nonetheless, the JMC, under the leadership of its Chairman, General Lallali of Algeria, has been striving to perform its duties under very difficult circumstances.

I wish here to join President Chiluba in thanking those countries that have already concretized their pledges in support of the JMC. I wish also to express my gratitude to OAU member States and our partners, who have provided the human, financial and logistical resources that enabled us to establish the JMC not only in Lusaka, but also in three out of the four identified areas in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

It goes without saying that the support of the African States and of the rest of the international community will also be needed as we prepare the ground for the commencement of the inter-Congolese political negotiations and dialogue. I wish to use the opportunity provided by this forum to express our appreciation to the former President of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire, for having accepted to serve as the Facilitator following a series of consultations among the Congolese parties to the Ceasefire Agreement, organized by the OAU. I would like to urge the international community at large to provide the necessary political, logistical and financial support to sustain the efforts of the Facilitator in undertaking this crucial and challenging task of assisting the Congolese parties in their search for a new political dispensation for their country.

At the same time, we need to be mindful of the fact that the role which the international community could play in this process has of necessity to be limited in scope and conducted in a manner than can allow the people of the Democratic Republic of Congo themselves, through an all-inclusive process, the time and space that they need to negotiate such a new political dispensation.

It is important also to underscore the interlinkage between the political and the military processes. There is therefore the urgent need for an effective United Nations presence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the form of military observers and peacekeepers. It is, at the same time, our fervent hope that the parties concerned will extend the necessary cooperation to facilitate that deployment. We also hope that, throughout this process, the necessary understanding and flexibility will be brought to bear by all the parties concerned.

In this context, mention must be made of the fact that one of the areas of concern in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement relates to the violations of the Ceasefire Agreement that have been reported. This issue has been a source of concern to members of the Security Council, as it has been for all of us. It is, however, worth noting that, despite the situation created by the violations, the Agreement continues to hold. Moreover, the violations have not eroded in an irreversible manner the commitment of the parties to the Agreement, as the latter have continued to cooperate within the JMC, within the Political Committee and, more recently, in the selection of the Facilitator for their political negotiations.

Let me also at this point acknowledge the fact that the Ceasefire Agreement for the Democratic Republic of the Congo may not be a perfect document, given that it is the product of compromise. However, the Agreement remains the only expression and instrument of the collective will of the different parties to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that was negotiated by all of them and accepted by the international community as a viable framework which, if implemented in good faith, would facilitate a return to peace, security, national reconciliation and development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We therefore have a collective responsibility to make the Agreement work.

It was against this backdrop that the recently held summit of the Southern African Development Community, which took place in Maputo, Mozambique, on 16 January, urged the signatories to the Ceasefire Agreement to cooperate in a more active manner to ensure the full and successful implementation of that Agreement. Subsequent to the Maputo summit, it was encouraging to note the resolve and commitment that was reiterated by the parties during the last meeting of the Political Committee, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, from 17 to 18 January. That commitment entailed the respect of all the provisions of the Ceasefire Agreement and their implementation on the basis of an updated calendar that was adopted on that occasion.

As we continue to insist, and rightly so, that the parties to the conflict show good faith in the implementation of the Agreement that they freely signed, let us endeavour to effectively assist them in order to achieve the desired objectives of the Lusaka peace Agreement. In this respect, any procrastination will definitely be to the detriment of the peace process. It is therefore our expectation in the continent that the deliberations of the Council will result in a clear commitment and concomitant action for the speedy deployment of United Nations military observers and peacekeeping forces, the size and mandate of which should be commensurate with the magnitude of the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

It is also our sincere hope that the Security Council will be able to respond positively to the need for concrete support for the facilitation efforts of Sir Ketumile Masire. The intention of the United States Government to contribute to that effort, expressed this morning by Secretary Albright, is certainly a welcome decision.

The perception that the Security Council has been hesitant in mandating the deployment of a force that can go into the Democratic Republic of the Congo and make a difference has, unfortunately, served to undermine the speedy implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. It has also served to strengthen the conviction regarding the unfortunate imbalance that exists in dealing with African crises. While we wholeheartedly welcome the renewed interest and focus of the Council on African issues and problems, it remains our fervent hope that the African agenda of the Council will go a long way in terms of responding to the needs of the moment. We need to recognize the indivisibility of the challenges that confront our common humanity, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo provides us with a unique opportunity to match our words with our deeds.

The purpose of this special meeting is precisely to provide new momentum for the implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and to create conditions for the Security Council to act swiftly and decisively in pursuit of its responsibilities towards the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as the principal organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. For there is no denying the fact that if there is one conflict in Africa that has all the attributes of constituting a threat to international peace and security, it is the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The task of the international community — and in particular of the Security Council — is not merely to win the battle by creating a temporary peace, but rather to win the war by ensuring a stable and peaceful Democratic Republic of the Congo after the settlement of the conflict. Together we should be able to join hands in support of the parties in the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement. This Council meeting should provide us with an opportunity to reiterate our collective commitment — the commitment of the parties and the commitment of the international community — to the implementation of the Agreement, and to agree on the best ways, means and modalities to achieve this objective. Failure to do so will represent a serious let-down to the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and to the peoples of Africa in general. Furthermore, given the high profile of this Council meeting, such a failure will constitute a particularly poignant setback. I submit that we cannot afford to do so.

The President: I thank Mr. Salim for his kind words addressed to the American presidency.

I give the floor to Sir Ketumile Masire, facilitator of the internal Congolese dialogue.

Sir Ketumile Masire: I wish to express my appreciation to you, Madam President, to Ambassador Holbrooke and to our brother Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, for inviting me to attend this meeting of the Security Council to discuss the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This meeting is being held against the backdrop of the increasing threats to the peace and security of the African continent, which continue to militate against the socio-economic development of Africa. This unprecedented series of meetings of the Security Council dedicated to the discussion of African issues — on the initiative of the United States presidency of the Council — is not only welcome, but will help alleviate suspicions, fears and concerns over the commitment of the United Nations, and the wider international community, to issues relating to peace, security and stability on the African continent.

As we are all aware, the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, more than any other contemporary crisis on the continent today, has pitted a number of countries in the region against each other, and therefore represents a real threat to peace and stability in the Central African region, otherwise known as the Great

Lakes region. This is all the more reason why the involvement of the Security Council is both timely and welcome.

I wish also to express my profound appreciation to President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia and his colleagues in the region, as well as to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), for spearheading efforts to resolve the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and for facilitating the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement. It is gratifying to note that since fighting broke out in the Democratic Republic of the Congo on 2 August 1998 the OAU, in collaboration with the countries of the region and the United Nations, has been at the forefront of efforts aimed at facilitating a peaceful resolution of the conflict. This has not been an easy task. However, the perseverance of all concerned seems to be paying off at last, and we can, as diplomats in the corridors of the United Nations are fond of saying, claim to be "cautiously optimistic".

The origins of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are complex and reflect the internal political, economic and social problems within the country itself, as well as an external dimension relating to the security concerns of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and those of the neighbouring countries. I wish to highlight the fact that throughout the peace process, the inviolability of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been consistently reaffirmed by the OAU and the countries of the region. Equally, there has also been a strong recognition of the need to address the internal political problems within the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as the security concerns of the neighbouring countries. Based on these principles and concerns, the OAU, the countries of the region and the United Nations brokered a Ceasefire Agreement among the belligerents in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

There are people present here who are more competent than me to discuss the military aspects of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, permit me to underscore the important linkages between the military and the political aspects of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Indeed, I believe that it was precisely in recognition of this linkage that the ceasefire document itself underlined the need for inter-Congolese political negotiations. I am fully aware of the commitment of the parties as enshrined in the modalities for the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement. The parties agreed that on the coming into force of the Ceasefire Agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, they would do their utmost to embark on inter-Congolese political negotiations, which should lead to a new political dispensation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Furthermore, and in order to arrive at the new political dispensation and national reconciliation emerging from the political dialogue, the parties agreed upon a number of principles elaborated in the Agreement and its annexes.

I believe that for the success of the all-inclusive inter-Congolese political negotiations leading to national reconciliation, I, as the facilitator, shall be responsible for, among other things, making the necessary contacts aimed at the convening of the inter-Congolese political negotiations within a conducive environment for all participants.

The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement outlines the framework and objectives of the inter-Congolese political dialogue. In the Agreement the signatories have committed themselves to a political process in which the Congolese parties should agree, *inter alia*, on the timetable and the rules of procedure of the inter-Congolese political negotiations; the formation of a new Congolese national army; a new political dispensation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in particular the institutions to be established for good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the process of free, democratic and transparent elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; and the promulgation of a new Constitution, which will govern the conduct of affairs in the Democratic Republic of the Congo after the holding of democratic elections. I hope that the calendar of the inter-Congolese political negotiations leading to the establishment of new institutions will be limited to the shortest possible time, bearing in mind the plight of the Congolese people and given the resource constraints.

As would be evident from the foregoing, I am under no illusion that the inter-Congolese negotiations will be anything but a difficult and arduous process. I cannot claim at this point to have answers to the problems in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and neither should anyone in the international community be so presumptuous as to think that we know more about what is best for the Congolese people than they themselves. I have come into the process with an open mind, but also with a strong determination to work with my brothers and sisters from the Democratic Republic of the Congo to help them shape the destiny of their own country. The

responsibility to assist the Congolese parties to achieve this noble objective is therefore a heavy and onerous challenge for all of us.

I believe that the most critical challenge to facilitating the political dialogue would be how to determine the nature and the content of the dialogue and the criteria for participation, and how to organize the infrastructure that will provide the necessary backdrop for the negotiations.

The current goodwill expressed by the international community should be translated into concrete assistance in order to enable the inter-Congolese dialogue to commence while the commitment by all parties to the ceasefire holds. More importantly, I am convinced that international pressure should continue to be exerted on all the parties to remain committed to resolving problems in the Democratic Republic of the Congo through peaceful means.

I also believe that for the inter-Congolese dialogue to succeed, the international community should continue to provide all the requisite resources for the successful completion of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. While resources are needed to sustain the military aspects of the Agreement, adequate funding is equally critical for the inter-Congolese political negotiations. If we falter in this regard, then the entire peace process will be in jeopardy. I therefore see an urgent need to ensure that a group of competent personnel is made available to buttress the facilitation effort.

The period of the negotiations will entail extensive travel and consultations with all relevant players, including the mediator, President Chiluba, other regional leaders and the parties to the conflict. I therefore wish to emphasize that the entire process will be costly, calling for concrete support by all countries of goodwill, for in the pursuit of peace there should be no room for neutrality. This Council, I believe, should move beyond pronouncements and translate the goodwill gestures made so far into a collective international undertaking. In making this appeal, I am aware that time is not on our side. We should move with greater speed than ever before. This meeting should accelerate the peace process if our efforts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are to have any meaning for the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Once again, allow me to reiterate my appreciation for having been associated with this momentous meeting of the Security Council on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In undertaking this enormously challenging task, I look forward to, and count on, the Council's strong support.

The President: I thank Sir Ketumile Masire for the important work he is about to undertake, and also for his kind words addressed to the American presidency.

Mr. Gurirab (Namibia): On this momentous occasion, we can see that different elements of history and current affairs have converged, engendering great expectations for the people of Africa, and especially for our suffering sisters, brothers and innocent children in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. No one can blame the Congolese people, because they are only expecting and yearning for peace, justice and personal safety in their own country. Their hearts are filled with hope that, at least this time, there will come from the Security Council a renewed resolve to speed up peace, save lives and prevent more bloodshed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The date 17 January 2000 was the thirty-ninth anniversary of the assassination of the Congo's martyr and Africa's hero, Patrice Lumumba. Like President Mugabe, I recall with satisfaction another important Council meeting on Africa that you, Madam President, convened on 25 September 1997 and that some of our leaders addressed. As the President of the General Assembly, I have taken action on the report of the Secretary-General that was requested at that meeting and that has been the subject of deliberations by the Assembly. I congratulate you warmly, Madam, on assuming once again the presidency of the Council.

I join you, Madam President, and the Secretary-General in welcoming our esteemed guests to the United Nations and to the Security Council, and, in particular, in thanking them all for the timely and important contributions they have made with such clarity and candour.

This is a historic meeting because of all that we can remember from the past, all that we can see around us and all that we can hear in the strong views coming from the heads of State. President Nujoma, my head of State, regrets his unavoidable absence. He has, however, invested me with all that I need to represent him and to speak on behalf of the Republic of Namibia.

By their solid presence, after having traveled such long distances from Africa, our leaders are demonstrating their collective determination to do everything possible to

inject fresh momentum into the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo so as to move it forward on a sustained basis. Nobody is suggesting that the road ahead will be easy. There are still some problems and uncertainties, and references have been made to them today. That notwithstanding, everyone, I believe, wants the bleeding and the crippling bickering to end forthwith, to be replaced by partnership, rededication and a comprehensive and durable peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The whole of the Great Lakes region and Central Africa also need peace and rebirth, for they are inseparable and their destiny is one. Africa's destiny is one.

The President's seat was occupied on Monday two weeks ago by Vice-President Al Gore, who on that occasion expressed strong and welcome views on Africa's problems and needs and who offered help which we appreciate. The Security Council's "month of Africa" has been busy and productive in many ways. That is a result of the outstanding leadership and industry of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, who recently paid a high-level visit to Africa for consultations with some of our leaders who are present here today. Ambassador Holbrooke has started a dialogue with Africans, which we welcome, and has launched commendable initiatives. There is still time left for more, and we are ready to cooperate with the United States presidency towards a win-win outcome.

So far, the Security Council has dealt with the devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa, in all respects from the virus and the disease to the cure and the cost. This was followed by Council meetings on the conflict situations, humanitarian needs and refugee crises in Angola and in Burundi as well as on the effects of the spillover of those tragedies into neighbouring countries. And today, we are discussing the unfortunate and imposed situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The leaders have addressed this problem extensively.

In his latest constructive report on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2000/30), the Secretary-General has provided us with an analysis of the situation and has put specific recommendations before the Council for its consideration. Furthermore, in his introductory statement this morning, the Secretary-General has supplemented his report with additional ideas. We thank him for that, and we urge the Security Council to act on those recommendations.

One of our deepest anxieties is about what happens next, after the "month of Africa", on the Council's calendar for the rest of this year, next year and beyond, to firmly keep the focus on Africa. We know that the rotation of the Council's presidency does not nullify the continuity of its previous undertakings. Namibia, as a member of the Security Council, will certainly play its part to ensure that that vital focus is maintained so long as we are still on the Council.

Important views and concerns have been expressed in this debate about virtually all aspects of the issue, from the ugly background and the current impasse to the way forward to bring about peace, the withdrawal of uninvited troops and normality in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We must keep these thoughts in mind as we seek practical and lasting solutions, without compromising frankness or honesty.

Destabilization of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will do no good, but only harm, to Africa, and particularly to the immediate neighbours of that country. On the other hand, comprehensive peace, stability and cooperation will benefit all and will restore Africa's dignity. It is a political solution that the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement — regardless of the frustrating and needless delays — is all about. Its implementation is the issue.

It was said a very long time ago that there is a time for everything: a time for war and a time for peace, a time to kill and a time to heal. Now is the time for peace and for a new beginning in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This comes from a member of the generation of Namibian freedom fighters.

Last July, the African leaders held in Algiers the last summit of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in the now bygone millennium and the twentieth century. The letter and the spirit of the Algiers Declaration eloquently and forcefully emphasized the sanctity of African life and called for an end to military takeovers in favour of democratic elections. Moreover, the African leaders resolved that 2000 will be Africa's year of peace, security and tolerance. To this end, they renewed collectively and severally their commitment to and respect for the United Nations and its Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, a call for continued partnership and cooperation.

Let me add in passing that the African leaders also deplored the unilateral use of force in international relations outside the duly conferred mandate of the United Nations Security Council. They stressed that such a use of force will open the way to practices inimical to world peace and security. That is Namibia's view as well.

It is also, in a nutshell, Namibia's contribution to this debate. We have resisted the urge to deal with all the burning issues and to give reasons why Namibia is in the Democratic Republic of the Congo at the expressed invitation of the legitimate Government of President Laurent Kabila and in response to the request by a fellow Southern African Development Community (SADC) member State. We have refrained because Namibia's position is well known.

However, before concluding I would like to underscore the following four cardinal points briefly.

First, Namibia steadfastly reiterates its unwavering adherence to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, excepting for the obvious need to update the timetable and the related technical modalities. It is not the already negotiated and signed text of the Ceasefire Agreement which is the problem. No. The real problem is the demonstrated lack of political will and vision for the future of certain parties.

There is also the problem of interference by some of the other interlocutors who are not being too helpful because they seem to have their own hidden agendas and pursue a different outcome in the Democratic Republic of the Congo than the one that most of Africa and the rest of the international community want. Clearly such acts are a blatant violation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence and unity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Let me reiterate that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo must be respected.

Secondly, for Namibia it is really axiomatic that the Joint Military Commission (JMC) and the United Nations Observer Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) should at all times consult, coordinate and act together until the end and to the satisfaction of all the relevant parties involved, above all to the satisfaction of the Government and the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It should be mentioned, however, that the JMC faces an acute lack of resources. This has been repeatedly mentioned, and Namibia joins in calling attention to this. Namibia has contributed to the funding of the JMC, and we call on the international community to assist in this regard.

We welcome the presence of the Secretary-General of the OAU at this meeting. We are happy to see the growing cooperation between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Secretary-General of the OAU, and we urge them to continue.

Thirdly, whatever declaration or explanatory note may emerge from New York must be clear and helpful to the peace process and not create any room for new misunderstandings or tampering with the substantive text of the Lusaka Agreement. We must be able to look to the future and go forward with confidence when we leave New York. Thus, the explicit reaffirmation of the political will here by all of us to move the process forward is what is most needed at this time.

Fourth and last, we heartily welcome the appointment of Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, as the facilitator for the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We will offer our good neighbour all that we can to make his daunting task a success. To succeed, Sir Ketumile will require adequate and all-round resources as well as strong political and technical backup from the United Nations and the rest of the international community. Needless to add, Africa, and in this case the Democratic Republic of the Congo, needs the same political considerations and similar magnitude of mobilization of resources as Kosovo and East Timor. In this regard, we call for the speedy deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, military observers and peacekeepers alike, under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is a unique problem which must be treated as such. The resolution we expect from the
Council should be consistent with this requirement and also take into consideration the recent decisions taken by African regional leaders in Maputo.

Any conflict and/or its effects have humanitarian consequences on the people concerned. The people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo are no exception. Namibia calls upon the international community to continue to provide generous assistance in the United Nations Inter-Agency Consolidated Appeal for 2000.

I cannot end without paying a well-deserved tribute to and congratulating the United Kingdom's Permanent Representative, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, for his sterling service as Council President at the end of the last millennium and of the century and especially for the unprecedented, interactive meeting he convened on Africa. His presidency concluded with a memorable reception in the Delegates Lounge on 29 December. On that occasion, he invited me to join him and the Secretary-General to toast the old and the new alike. This

is a part of a vision I expressed on that occasion, and I quote myself:

> "Let us welcome the new millennium and the new beginning with a universal kinship of spirit and enlarged kindness towards one another".

I also said:

> "If we do that — and we must — we will be able to create more favourable conditions for a lasting peace...human security and prosperity that all of us can share in." *(ibid.)*

That is my dream for the sake of the world's children. Africa, Africa, Africa will rise again, and peace will come to the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well, with the assistance of the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and the friends of Africa worldwide.

The President: I thank the President of the General Assembly and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Namibia for his eloquent and kind statement and for the very kind words he addressed to the American presidency, Ambassador Holbrooke and Vice-President Gore.

In view of the lateness of the hour, I intend, with the concurrence of members of the Council, to suspend the meeting until 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4092 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-fifth Year

Provisional

4092nd Meeting
Monday, 24 January 2000, 3.15 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Holbrooke	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Axworthy
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France	Mr. Josselin
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Sokona
	Namibia	Mr. Gurirab
	Netherlands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Hain

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

00-25720 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was resumed at 3.15 p.m.

The President: The first speaker on my list is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of South Africa, Her Excellency Ms. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

I welcome the Minister as the representative of the great nation of South Africa and thank her for participating in today's important meeting. I know that Secretary of State Albright deeply regrets that we were unable to hear Ms. Dlamini-Zuma's statement before lunch.

Ms. Dlamini-Zuma (South Africa): It is an honour for me to address this important meeting of the Security Council on the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would like to thank the presidency of the United States for devoting this month to African issues. I am particularly glad to be here, representing President Mbeki, in the presence of many heads of State from our region.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a most complex problem, involving six States and various rebel movements in our region. It is indeed a tribute to the leaders of our region, under the leadership of President Chiluba, that the Lusaka Agreement was reached, providing the best opportunity for a lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We still believe that there is no option for resolving of the conflict other than working within the framework which the parties, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the leaders of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) decided upon when they signed the Lusaka Agreement.

The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement must be successfully implemented by all concerned. It is a tribute to the signatories that, although the Ceasefire Agreement has not been fully implemented in terms of all the provisions, and there have been some breaches of it, total war has not continued in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This demonstrates the commitment to the ceasefire and to peace in the region of the Great Lakes.

South Africa would like to reaffirm its neutral role in the search for lasting peace in the Congo and in the Great Lakes area. We believe that it is important for our country to communicate equally with all parties involved in the Congo conflict. Furthermore, my Government is committed to assisting the Joint Military Commission (JMC) by providing whatever support is needed, including logistical support.

We strongly urge an immediate and complete deployment of the JMC to enable it to undertake the tasks prescribed by the Agreement as soon as possible. We would like to take this opportunity to request the international community to give its full support to the JMC in the implementation of its tasks in accordance with the Ceasefire Agreement. We appreciate the assistance given by many countries so far, but more needs to be done.

Further, my delegation would like to reiterate the call, made by the SADC heads of State and Government in Maputo, that the Security Council should without delay authorize the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the context of the implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. South Africa believes that the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force is critical to a successful implementation of the Agreement and needs the support of the international community. In this connection, States members of the Security Council need not be reminded of the provisions contained in Article 24 of the United Nations Charter, which states that the United Nations Member States confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. A delay by the Security Council in carrying out its fundamental duty may lead to the worsening of the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

South Africa finds unacceptable the delay in the involvement of the United Nations in bringing about security, lasting peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Let us recall that, on 10 July 1999, all parties to the conflict demonstrated their desire for peace by signing the Agreement. Therefore, the Security Council must, on its part, fulfil its historic mandate, as set out in the United Nations Charter, by assisting the parties to the Agreement to enforce the ceasefire.

We do hope that the United Nations will be able to play the role envisaged in chapter 8 of the Agreement, which includes all peacekeeping and peace enforcement. In this regard, we welcome the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but we must state that we see the deployment recommended in that report as only the beginning.

We believe it is important to implement the ceasefire as it is envisaged in the Agreement, including disarming and resettling the armed groups that further compromise the security of the countries in the region. It is for this reason that we believe that, as a minimum requirement, the Security Council should conclude this week devoted to the Democratic Republic of the Congo by adopting a resolution in support of the peace process in that country, as detailed in the Lusaka Agreement.

My Government also welcomes the appointment by the Congolese parties of the former President of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire, as the Facilitator for the internal political national dialogue between the political forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in accordance with chapter 5 of the Agreement.

In this regard, we call on all the Congolese political and other interest groups to give their full support to Sir Ketumile Masire in his endeavour to assist in the creation of a more democratic political system in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In the long run, it is only the Congolese themselves who can determine their future, while the international community can assist in creating a conducive atmosphere to underpin the Congolese commitment. We also join the heads of State in appealing to the international community to support the Congolese dialogue both financially and politically.

In this regard, we wish to reaffirm the importance of the collective involvement of the United Nations, the OAU, SADC and the international community in the search for a lasting solution in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the Great Lakes region. We strongly believe that the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, a product of the African countries, will make a meaningful contribution towards resolving the conflict and place the Great Lakes region on the road to recovery.

We would like to appeal to the international community for urgent humanitarian support to alleviate the suffering of hundreds of thousands of Congolese. The Democratic Republic of the Congo will also need extensive resources for its process of reconstruction and development. Planning in this regard should commence as soon as possible.

The people of the Congo have suffered for over a century. This process provides them with a glimmer of hope towards a democratic, peaceful and prosperous Congo. Should this process fail, we shall all stand indicted. We owe it to the people of the Congo and we dare not fail them.

The President: I thank the Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Africa for coming here and representing President Mbeki. I thank her for her kind words addressed to the American presidency and I thank her for her country's contribution to peace.

I have been asked to read out a message addressed to me from the President of Nigeria:

> "On behalf of the Government and the people of Nigeria, I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during the first month of the new millennium and for the high profile and attention which you have given to African issues in our Organization. To this end, I am delighted to send this message of goodwill to members of the Council and participants in this historic open meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including my brother heads of State who have travelled all the way from our continent, for a very successful deliberation. Their presence demonstrates the commitment which the Organization of African Unity and all African leaders have towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
>
> "It is gratifying that the United Nations Security Council, under the presidency of the United States, at the very beginning of the new millennium is devoting a substantial portion of its work and time to the issues of peace and security in Africa. It is appropriate and fitting that the United Nations is taking an early lead in the new millennium in focusing on issues of peace and security on the African continent.
>
> "The impressive turnout of a large number of African leaders in the Council today to participate in the efforts at resolving the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a solid show of the commitment of African leaders to truly turn 2000 into a year of peace, security and solidarity. Certainly, their presence should convince the international community that we are committed to ending conflicts afflicting some States on our continent.
>
> "The early resolution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will certainly

have a positive effect on the security of the entire subregion and give substance to the decision of African leaders at their 1999 Algiers summit to make 2000 truly the year of peace, security and solidarity. It is important, therefore, that all efforts be made at this meeting to reaffirm the collective commitment of all parties to the Lusaka Agreement. The United Nations should also give concrete support to complement the regional and continental arrangement aimed at peacemaking and peacekeeping in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"With best wishes for a successful deliberation,

"Olusegun Obasanjo, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria."

I would like to invite the Vice Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, Mr. Louis Michel, to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement. We thank him for making the trip to join us today.

Mr. Michel (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I am very happy to see you, Sir, presiding over this meeting, and I would like to thank you for your efforts to lend new momentum to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and to make the international community more aware of the gravity of this crisis. I encourage your initiative and assure you of my country's support.

Belgium's position lies within the framework of the efforts made by the European Union, and I associate myself fully with the statement to be made by the Portuguese presidency of the Union. My Government believes that European involvement in the peace process and in the stabilization of the region is an essential factor in ensuring the success of our efforts.

During the fifty-fourth session of the General Assembly, on 25 September 1999, I announced that Belgium wished to devote special attention to central Africa and to solving the crisis in the Congo. We wish to contribute to pulling the region out of the quagmire of war and insecurity, and thereby out of underdevelopment. My presence here today is further confirmation of that commitment.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is a country the size of a continent, and its stability influences that of the entire African continent and impacts directly on the stability of its nine neighbours. The return to peace and regional stability requires the re-establishment of respect for the fundamental principles that were clearly reaffirmed by the signatories to the Lusaka peace Agreement. First and foremost among those is the territorial unity and integrity of Congo and the inviolability of its borders. For Belgium, this is the first prerequisite for the country's recovery.

At the same time, Congo's neighbours have the right to live in peace within secure borders, without destabilizing action being undertaken from Congolese territory.

The other essential factor to the stabilization of Congo is of a domestic character, namely, national reconciliation. The Lusaka Agreement explicitly sets out the commitment of the Congolese signatories to undertake an internal dialogue leading to national reconciliation within the framework of freely accepted institutions, including a national army truly at the service of the Congolese people.

We have not gathered here today at such a high level of political representation to negotiate a new treaty; rather, we are gathered to create an unstoppable momentum that will lead to full implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. Although it entered into force almost six months ago, today we are seeing a slow pace of implementation and the risk that the peace process may become more fragile. We cannot remain passive.

All parties involved — signatories to the Agreement and the international community, both collectively and individually — must shoulder their responsibilities. The gravity of the situation and its catastrophic humanitarian consequences require more than ever that everything be done to relaunch the peace process by setting into motion the mechanisms already envisaged in the Agreement. Indeed, this is the only instrument that exists to end the conflict.

Now, what do we think are the conditions for resuming the peace process and ensuring its success?

First, of course, is the political will of the signatories. The primary responsibility for implementing the Lusaka Agreement lies with those who signed it. It is up to them to respect their own signatures and to carry out what they agreed to: respect for the ceasefire, the withdrawal of troops and a halt to rearmament. A clear demonstration of political will by the parties to implement

the peace Agreement in good faith and without creating impediments is absolutely essential to enable the international community to uphold and encourage their actions.

This naturally brings me to my second point, namely, the support of the international community. That support is absolutely necessary to make the Agreement's mechanisms work. Immediate financial and logistical assistance for the Joint Military Commission (JMC) so that it may function on a permanent basis is indispensable to its executing its mission. In this respect, the financial contributions pledged should be paid into the trust fund without delay. So far, Belgium has contributed BF10 million and has actively encouraged the European Union to pledge 1.2 million euros without delay.

Better coordination between the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), the JMC and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is also needed. Here I welcome the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General, particularly his appointment of an especially experienced Special Representative, Ambassador Morjane, who should be able to count on the political and logistical support of the international community, as well as the full cooperation of the parties.

The third prerequisite is a peacekeeping operation to help the signatories put the Agreement into practice and allow it to achieve one of its principal objectives, namely, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Congo. In order to succeed, such a mission will have to be adequately equipped with a clear mandate and the necessary logistical and financial resources. I urge the Security Council to seize the opportunity offered by the Lusaka Agreement and shoulder its responsibilities in this respect. Belgium will contribute financially and logistically in its national capacity and in conjunction with its partners in the European Union.

I would also urge the Security Council to provide sufficient protection and means of transportation and communications so that the observers to be deployed under phase II can carry out their mission objectively and under full security.

The issue of the disarmament and reintegration of combatants of irregular armed groups is clearly of the utmost importance, and it is also extremely difficult. This will require political mechanisms and economic incentives, rather than military solutions.

A fourth prerequisite is the inter-Congolese dialogue. Its implementation is essential and urgent. President Masire has now been appointed as facilitator and will bring his prestige as a great statesman, as well as his long political experience, to this indispensable dialogue. Belgium welcomes his appointment and will support him fully. I call on all Congolese parties to build a political system involving all dynamic elements of the nation. The international community should not remain on the sidelines while the Congolese attempt to achieve this objective.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize the concept of African ownership, which may recently have been a reason for withdrawing from Africa and which has now — through the Lusaka Agreement — demonstrated its relevancy. The Agreement is an African response to an African crisis. Insofar as the signatory countries truly commit themselves, the international community is ready to contribute to its implementation. African ownership can be neither rejection nor withdrawal. The concept must involve collaboration and partnership.

Our efforts should be seen in the framework of partnership with countries in central Africa. That partnership involves, first of all, the countries of the region itself. It is only through regional stabilization and cooperation beyond one's own borders that peace, ensured by the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, will be truly consolidated. On that basis, we are ready to rally our partners — both within the European Union and beyond — to a North-South partnership pact focusing on reconstruction, democracy and development. That pact would fall within the scope of a conference on stability and cooperation in the Great Lakes region, which could be organized once peace returns to the region.

Finally, I would hope that we would consider the lessons of the Carlsson report. Not only should we help Rwanda heal the wounds of the past, but we must also ensure that the errors committed in Rwanda are not repeated.

We want to break from the logic of war, a war which cannot be won by anyone. We must show those who think they can improve their lot only by taking up arms that there exists a peaceful alternative based on economic cooperation and development. My country possesses the will and the means to participate in this endeavour.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium for his participation today. I would just note in passing that with the exception of the presidency, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium is the thirteenth speaker and the first to speak from the European continent. I hope that is indicative of his last point, that this is the rest of world in support of an African solution, to use Secretary-General Salim Salim's phrase, an African solution to an African problem.

We now return to the continent of Africa. It is my honour to call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi, who was with us last week and is still available under the previous rule. We welcome him back for another meeting of the Security Council.

Mr. Ntahomvukiye (Burundi) (*spoke in French*): Allow me at the outset to commend the Security Council and the presidency of the United States for having included on the Council's agenda security issues of the countries of the Great Lakes subregion. The problem of security in this part of Africa is at the centre of Burundi's concerns, given the tension and the internal, cross-border and interrelated wars that develop there to the point of imperiling entire nations now for many years.

The Government of Burundi welcomes the opportunity offered to express its great hope that the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement will create a favourable climate for the process of peace and reconciliation undertaken in my country over the past three years. One of the causes of the resurgence of violence in recent months is rooted in the coalition of armed rebel groups that come and go in the subregion where militias and other armies have taken to the bush and continue their guerrilla activities.

I will not revert to the explanations already given here at the United Nations and elsewhere on Burundi's position in the war that is ravaging the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, I would like to recall that Burundi stands ready to make its contribution and to play its full role in implementing the Lusaka Agreement, which explicitly acknowledges its security concerns along its border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo due to the activity of part of the Burundi rebellion in that country.

More than in the various meetings in Kampala, Lusaka and Harare, Burundi requests to be particularly associated with the settlement of the following items identified in the Agreement: first, disarmament of armed groups, including the Forces for the Defence of Democracy of Burundi, as stipulated in chapter 8, article 8.2.2 and chapter 9 of the Agreement; secondly, the voluntary repatriation of Burundian and Congolese refugees, as stipulated in chapter 8, article 8.2.2; thirdly, reintegration into society of members of armed groups, as stipulated in chapter 8, article 8.2.2 of the Agreement; and fourthly, normalization of the situation along the common border between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi, as stipulated in chapter 12 of the Agreement.

In keeping with our traditional policy of good-neighbourliness, Burundi entirely endorses the measures recommended in chapter 12 of the Agreement. In this connection, it reaffirms its desire to cooperate with all signatories to the Agreement and other involved parties. Peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are indispensable to lasting peace in the subregion and in Burundi in particular.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burundi for his contribution to this week's and to last week's debate.

The next speaker is Ambassador Abdellatif Rahal of Algeria, personal representative of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

Mr. Rahal (Algeria) (*spoke in French*): I am addressing the Security Council on behalf of Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

I avail myself of this opportunity to welcome your initiative, Mr. President, under the presidency of your country, to focus the Security Council debates for the month of January on issues that are matters of great concern to the African continent. Moreover, the year 2000 was declared by the OAU summit at Algiers a year of peace, security and stability in Africa.

Your recent trip, Mr. President, to several countries in Africa, has enabled you to accurately assess the gravity of the situation. You were able to gather the opinions of the various parties *in situ* on ways and means of contributing to an effective implementation of the Lusaka peace Agreement.

At this meeting, I welcome the heads of State and high-ranking African political authorities who have been good enough to travel to demonstrate their interest in a satisfactory settlement of the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Our countries, and the OAU, understood full well the seriousness and complexity of this crisis. The countries of the region, which are naturally more sensitive than others to the threats it poses, have done a great deal to try to create the conditions for a peaceful settlement of this fratricidal crisis. Since the beginning of the crisis, Algeria has called for restraint and wisdom.

Encouraging results have come about with the signing of the Lusaka peace Agreement, which through dialogue and cooperation has created the heartening prospect of a final settlement of the conflict. All States members of the OAU, and the international community at large, have welcomed that significant progress towards the restoration of peace and harmony in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which enjoys unanimous moral support.

The thirty-fifth OAU summit, which was held at Algiers in July 1999, welcomed that progress and called upon the parties to the conflict to work harder to implement the Lusaka Agreement fully and genuinely. In our view, the Agreement constitutes an important achievement and remains the proper framework for settling the conflict and restoring peace and stability throughout the Great Lakes region.

As current Chairman of the OAU, Algeria has worked since the Algiers summit to implement the decisions adopted by African heads of State or Government. President Abdelaziz Bouteflika has appointed a special envoy to follow the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and throughout the region. The efforts of the current Chairman of the OAU have three focuses. First, he is striving to encourage the initiatives of the countries of the subregion, and to urge the parties concerned to respect commitments undertaken in the framework of the Lusaka Agreement and to engage in frank and honest cooperation in its implementation. He has also worked with the countries of the region to overcome difficulties with respect to representation for rebel movements in the mechanisms envisioned in the peace Agreement.

Secondly, in coordination with the Secretary-General of the OAU, President Bouteflika has turned to all the countries of Africa with the purpose of strengthening their unanimous support for this endeavour and of creating support for implementation efforts. This made it possible to convene the OAU Central Organ of its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, which agreed to OAU financial support for the Joint Military Commission and to the deployment in the field of African monitors.

Thirdly, the Chairman of the OAU has endeavoured to make the international community more aware of this African peace effort. He has called upon all members of the international community to make a meaningful contribution to implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. Unfortunately, that appeal has met with meagre response, and we hope that this meeting of the Security Council, by highlighting the threat posed to all by the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, will give rise to a more tangible commitment to an endeavour which lacks the means for its achievement.

Moreover, also in coordination with the Secretary-General of the OAU, President Bouteflika has been ceaselessly working with the Secretary-General of the United Nations with a view to creating the conditions for prompt and effective United Nations involvement in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. Thus far it has not been possible to obtain United Nations involvement commensurate with African expectations or with the challenge posed by the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. But this is an urgent situation that genuinely threatens to spill over. Delay or hesitation in deploying a United Nations peacekeeping operation is of concern to the peoples of Africa, which need support from the international community to make the Lusaka peace process a success.

The presence at today's meeting of the signatories of the Lusaka Agreement is a sign of their readiness, of which we must take due note. Their presence attests to their desire to promote dialogue as the means towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

While it is true that progress to date has not met our expectations, the Lusaka Agreement still constitutes a valuable achievement that should be protected from any sudden challenges. It is the irreplaceable framework within which we must strive to solve the problems before us. The Agreement is intended to make yesterday's adversaries into partners determined to implement a peaceful solution, as shown by their cooperation with the Joint Military Commission, which was established following the signing of the Lusaka Agreement. All are aware of the important progress made by this Commission, which, however, continues to face enormous material and financial difficulties. We hope that the Commission, which has proven its effectiveness on the ground, will be encouraged to continue its work.

Some countries responded positively to the appeal of the current Chairman of the (OAU) and have given equipment or financial support to the Joint Military Commission. The Chairman of the OAU thanks them and urgently appeals to other countries who have not as yet not done so to also demonstrate their support for the Commission.

We deeply deplore the recent confrontations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which have once again claimed civilian victims. These regrettable events fly in the face of the legitimate hopes of the Congolese people and of other people of the region who hope to regain peace in trust, harmony and as good neighbours.

President Abdelaziz Bouteflika has exhorted the parties in conflict to abstain from resorting to arms and to work resolutely with the Joint Military Commission to create conditions for implementing the Lusaka Agreement. The Agreement is a structure built on a balance of interests and on a fair sharing of sacrifices. If it does not satisfy all, neither does it privilege any of the parties. All new recourse to arms will irreparably destroy the efforts for peace undertaken up to now.

The current Chairman of the OAU welcomes the designation of Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, as facilitator for the inter-Congolese dialogue. His great qualities as a statesman, his extensive experience and his personal engagement will help the Congolese parties come together and find the elements of national reconciliation.

This is not the first time that the Security Council is considering the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Since the first warning signs of the crisis, the Council understood the magnitude of the danger threatening all countries of the region. In several successive and repetitive resolutions, the Council called upon the parties to the conflict to settle their disputes by peaceful means and committed itself to provide them with military aid, equipment and financial support. Despite delays and hesitations in their progress, the African parties nonetheless responded to the appeal of the Security Council and, not without tremendous difficulties, arrived at the Lusaka Agreement.

Implementing this Agreement, as we said previously, requires ways and means that go beyond their own capabilities. For its part, the Security Council has only partially met its commitments by sending 79 liaison officers to the field. At other times and in other places, the Council has become involved far more energetically in the settlement of crises that threatened peace in other regions of the world. On those occasions, it made available considerable resources, even going to the extent of military action not without inevitable risks.

The African continent wishes to benefit from similar concern on the part of the international community. You wished to impart to this meeting of the Council an exceptional and solemn nature; it would be difficult to understand if the meeting did not lead to very firm commitments and if the actions and calendar for implementing them were not clearly defined. This is what we Africans expect of the United Nations, that is to say of the States of which it is made up, and particularly of those which have the equipment and the financial and military power.

The President: I would like to mention now that I will forego our space in the speakers order and not deliver a national statement today in the interests of time and to allow more people to speak. I would also like to note the return to the Chamber of President Mugabe of Zimbabwe — we welcome you back — and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, His Excellency Salim Salim. We are delighted that you were able to return.

I now call on the Minister of the Armed Forces of Mali, Mohamed Salia Sokona.

Mr. Sokona (Mali) (*spoke in French*): It is a great honour for me to speak here today in the Security Council on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. On behalf of His Excellency Alpha Oumar Konaré, President of the Republic of Mali and current Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and also on my own behalf, it is also my pleasure to thank your delegation, Mr. President, for organizing this important meeting, and I would like to tell you what great importance we attach to results of our work here.

The presence at this meeting of many heads of State, of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, ministers and many eminent persons gives testimony, if testimony is needed, to the importance that the international community attaches to the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This situation is a critical one. It is characterized by, *inter alia*, a deterioration of the military situation, of security conditions and of the humanitarian situation as well as by human rights violations.

What is to be done? The Security Council and the international community must take swift and concrete action. In this connection, I should like to touch on several points that my delegation believes could contribute to a settlement of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

First, Mali believes that stopping the fighting must be the top priority, for no military solution to the conflict can truly resolve the crisis. We call on all parties to the conflict to implement the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. They must be determined to respect the Agreement that they themselves signed. In the same context, we believe that the United Nations should support the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement by swiftly deploying a peacekeeping operation with the appropriate mandate and resources.

Secondly, Mali believes that the establishment of a lasting peace and of stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo requires the implementation of a genuine process of national reconciliation among all of the Congolese people. In this connection, we welcome the appointment of Sir Ketumile Masire as the neutral facilitator for the inter-Congolese dialogue, and we assure him of our full support. With the help of the Organization of African Unity and of the United Nations, we will thus have grounds for hope that significant progress can be made in this matter.

Thirdly, it is Mali's view that a lasting settlement of the conflict requires the parties to make the necessary arrangements to guarantee the future security, stability and development of the region. The principles underlying such arrangements were set out in the statement by the President of the Security Council of 11 December 1998. They are: respect for the territorial integrity, political independence and national sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other States in the region; the orderly withdrawal of all foreign forces; the taking of the necessary steps to ensure security along the international borders of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the re-establishment of the authority of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo over the whole territory of the country; respect for human rights and humanitarian law; and, lastly, dealing with the question of refugees.

Fourthly, we believe that to help attain these objectives, the convening of an international conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity is a welcome proposal, which Mali fully supports.

In conclusion, I should like to welcome the initiatives taken at the regional level by, *inter alia*, President Chiluba, President Bouteflika and President Mbeki in support of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I would also like to congratulate the American delegation for having taken the initiative of convening this meeting today.

The President: Mr. Minister, thank you for your participation, in fulfilment of a pledge your President made when I visited him last month in Bamako. We are delighted that you have joined us today. I thank you also for your very important remarks and for your leadership role in these problems.

It is now my very great honour to welcome and call on the Foreign Minister of Canada, The Honourable Lloyd Axworthy. We are delighted that he has made the long, difficult trip from Canada to New York.

Mr. Axworthy (Canada): I am very glad that we have been able to bring such warm weather from the Canadian North — Canadian weather.

I should also like to thank you, Mr. President, for your very fine initiative in convening this meeting. Canada welcomes this special Security Council meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and we have been very encouraged by the very effective, strong and powerful presentations made by the United States Secretary of State, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the leaders of the African States, the members and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the facilitator. It has really been one of the very important consensus-building exercises that this Organization has been involved in.

We are glad to be here because this is an issue that involves us all. The conflict in the Congo jeopardizes regional peace. It certainly undermines the fragile prospects for stability in an African country that is very central to the continent's interests. But most importantly, it is senselessly taking many innocent lives and ending the hopes of countless others, and for that reason we must all shoulder our responsibilities.

(spoke in French)

A solution that creates lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is therefore imperative. Canada is hopeful that this gathering will bring progress.

As we focus on building a more promising future for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region, we also need to be mindful of the sometimes disheartening past. Last month, the Independent Inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda published its findings.

(spoke in English)

As the President of Rwanda has reminded us, this report is a stinging portrait of failure in Africa by Members of this Organization, members of the Council and the United Nations Secretariat. It documents a failure to participate, anticipate and prepare; a failure to communicate; a failure to exert leadership and to commit resources — in short, an abysmal failure by the global community to act when the people of Rwanda most desperately needed our help.

I commend the Secretary-General for establishing this unprecedented inquiry and for acknowledging the role he and the United Nations Secretariat played in the tragedy.

But the burden of responsibility is spread wide. We — as the Security Council, as Member States and as individuals — would do well to take the Secretary-General's example and clearly acknowledge our own shortcomings in Rwanda.

However, retroactive *mea culpas* alone serve little purpose. We cannot undo the past, but we can learn from it and apply its lessons to the present.

The Inquiry highlights how terribly wrong things went in Rwanda, yet it also provides specific guidelines on how to prevent tragedies in the future. The Inquiry underlines how human security — the safety and protection of civilians — has become a central concern in modern armed conflict. In so doing, it underlines the need to integrate the human dimension into action on matters of war and peace.

The Inquiry reinforces the importance of African issues to the Security Council's activities and to Council credibility. It underlines how the Council neglects the continent at its peril and the appalling price Africans pay when the Council fails to act. It lays all of this out clearly, methodically and indelibly, making it difficult, if not impossible, for the Security Council henceforth to shrink from or ignore its obligation to support peace and security in Africa.

There are encouraging signs that the Council is learning from experience. I believe the deliberations on the Democratic Republic of the Congo that we have heard today are evidence that we are taking those obligations to heart.

It is true that there has been no lack of Council consideration of the armed conflicts that continue to beset parts of Africa, as well as a search for solutions. To this end, the Council's recent open debates on Africa have helped focus attention. But it is also true that thematic discussions on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, on the abuse of small arms and light military weapons and on war-affected children are helping broaden the Council's awareness and inform its responses to the security challenges of the new century. They have served to highlight the specific impact in African war zones.

Beyond words and awareness there are also deeds. There is an increasing sense that, in Africa as elsewhere, the Council must lend its weight to ongoing peace efforts being made by others. In the Sudan, for example, the ongoing armed conflict is a serious concern that, beyond the glare of the media spotlight, continues to take a devastating toll. The Security Council should consider how it can support the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development in its mediation efforts.

In Sierra Leone, the Security Council established a new Mission that is helping implement a fragile Peace Agreement and bring a measure of peace and security for the people of that country. For the first time, a United Nations peacekeeping operation's mandate specifically includes the protection of civilians. The Council is currently considering the expansion of this operation; the Secretary-General is making recommendations. It is now up to the Council members to demonstrate their willingness to match our professed concern with resources and resolutely endorse his plan.

In Angola, Canada has been working on practical ways to make the sanctions regime relating to the illicit trade in diamonds, weapons and petroleum more effective. These measures are aimed at bringing an end to the senseless civil conflict that has claimed so many lives. If accepted and successful, these new measures on

Angola might be applied to other conflicts, and we hope they will provide a model for constraining the market place of conflict.

All of this is progress: progress in concrete Council action in Africa and progress in making the advancement of human security an important focus of this activity. But it is tenuous progress. The Council's engagement needs to be reinforced and sustained. We must not shrink from doing what is needed. Too often, the Council is motivated by avoiding cost and evading risk. This cannot be the case in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The conflict and turbulence in the Democratic Republic reflect many of the realities of modern war. It is clearly a significant human security challenge, and it is one of the most complex conflicts facing the global community. The Council's active involvement is therefore indispensable.

The territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is contested by foreign military forces occupying vast swathes of its eastern provinces. Some domestic opposition forces have chosen military conflict over political means to contest national leadership. Dialogue on the country's future institutions and on the path to democracy is thwarted by both internal and external forces. An array of military groups and militias — armed, dangerous and acting with impunity — use Congolese territory to contest the Governments of many of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's neighbours.

The influence of the new war economies is significant. The Democratic Republic of the Congo's economic development languishes, with some of its rich endowment of resources shamelessly pilfered to support war-making.

Most important, ordinary people are suffering at an appalling and unacceptable level. Civilians are the principal victims of this violence. Tens of thousands have been uprooted from their homes. Thousands have been killed or maimed. Women and children suffer hugely.

(spoke in French)

There are, however, other equally important realities. The people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo are a nation, united in their commitment to maintaining the integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's territory and the security of its borders. The people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo desire peace, with open dialogue. They want a chance to establish democratic institutions and to have a representative Government in order to realize their aspirations for stability and economic and social development.

Today we have heard many of the leaders of African countries neighbouring the Democratic Republic of the Congo express the same desire for peace, stability and a return to normality. They too want closure on these problems.

(spoke in English)

The elements of a solution, as we have heard today, are there. The Lusaka Agreement, signed last summer, is central to resolving the conflicts. It addresses the principal issues that need to be resolved: a ceasefire and disengagement of troops, a national political dialogue, the orderly withdrawal of all foreign forces, the disarmament of armed groups, the re-establishment of State administration and the creation of a framework for implementation of the accord that involves the United Nations.

The tools are there, but the momentum has stalled. Therefore, we strongly welcome the initiative of the United States in convening this meeting, its willingness to engage fully in efforts to resolve the conflict and its leadership in bringing the parties together here in New York.

The prospects for peace are tied primarily to the actions and decisions of those directly involved. The onus is clearly on them. As President Mandela said last week in the context of Burundi, no one can reach agreement but the parties themselves. His wise counsel rings equally true for those involved in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, the global community can and should now play an active role in reviving the peace process and in achieving the goals set by the Lusaka Agreement. The time has come for the international community to assume its share of the burden — not just African countries, but all of us. This should not be a responsibility to be contracted out to an ad hoc coalition; instead, it must be met by truly collective efforts, funded not as a charity case but by assessed contributions — in other words, through the United Nations Security Council and through a United Nations operation.

In the first instance, this means the early deployment of 500 United Nations observers, already agreed to by the Security Council last November. They will need to be supported with a clear mandate and adequate resources. To that end, Canada supports the immediate creation of

a robust United Nations mission along the lines proposed by the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, and whose mandate should include clear and unequivocal provision for the protection of civilians under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The Joint Military Commission (JMC) plays a central part in ensuring that the Lusaka Agreement is respected. Canada will contribute $500,000 to the operation of the JMC. We expect that the JMC and the United Nations peacekeeping presence will work hand in hand in the full implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. I can say to the Secretary-General that our contribution will be delivered immediately.

Canada has been and will continue to help in other ways. We believe our most useful contribution, in addition to support for United Nations efforts, is in supporting the inter-Congolese dialogue, as well as the institutional development of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Indeed, we have already been actively involved in efforts to promote reconciliation and peace. Canada has in the past supported projects emphasizing conflict prevention through the promotion of human rights, increasing popular participation in decision-making and encouraging good economic management.

Canada will reinforce these efforts. In the coming months, we will provide $2 million to support the peace and reconciliation process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the region. One million dollars will be earmarked for the inter-Congolese dialogue, led by Sir Ketumile Masire at the request of Secretary-General Salim Salim of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The serious, indeed tragic, problem of child soldiers demands particular attention. Last year, Canada contributed to the organization of the Kinshasa Forum on the demobilization and reintegration of child soldiers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Further concrete actions aimed at helping war-affected children are important in order to consolidate peace efforts. To that end, Canada will contribute $1 million to help with disarmament, rehabilitation and reintegration, including to the Democratic Republic of the Congo National Commission on Child Soldiers.

The regional conference on war-affected children to be held this April in Accra, hosted by Ghana and Canada, will consider other concrete measures with relevance to West Africa, and undoubtedly to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes situation. It is our aim that the lessons learned from these initiatives will be shared and built upon at a global conference to be hosted by Canada next September on the broad question of war and children.

Since its nadir, so vividly recalled in the Rwanda Inquiry report, the Security Council has been making headway in being more actively involved in Africa. There is hope that in this instance the past is not prologue.

(spoke in French)

More resolute engagement in promoting peace and security in Africa; increased understanding of the need to relaunch an approach that links Council action with other efforts; recognition that a more human-centred approach to security challenges is needed in Africa — these are all positive trends.

(spoke in English)

This week's meetings on the Democratic Republic of the Congo are further and welcome evidence of Security Council commitment to these ends, to which Canadians are fully dedicated in their support.

The President: The next two speakers will be the representatives of the United Kingdom and France, at the ministerial level. As I said earlier, the United States will forgo its national statement, and we will then have completed the ministerial statements at this meeting. I will call on the permanent representatives who wish to take the floor. Because of the tremendous time limits, the very large number of representatives who wish to speak and the absolute need, because of the pressing obligations of all the heads of Government here, to suspend the meeting today at 5 p.m. or, perhaps, a few minutes afterwards, I urge everyone to speak very briefly.

It is now my great pleasure to welcome back to the Council one of the two men — the other is Sir Jeremy Greenstock — who presided over the Council last month in our seminal discussions of African issues during the presidency of the United Kingdom: the Minster of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, Mr. Peter Hain.

Mr. Hain (United Kingdom): I am delighted to be here. I should like to thank Secretary of State Albright, and you, Mr. President, both for convening this debate and for your energetic pursuit of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I also welcome the historic

statements made by the all the heads of State gathered here today.

Bringing peace to the Great Lakes region matters to Britain. It matters to the United Nations, and most of all it matters to Africa. We must end this war. We must bring peace to a region too often torn apart by strife. We, the United Nations — all of us — have failed Africa in the past. Let us not fail now.

The Lusaka Agreement is a good one. It provides the right formula for peace. It is Africa's agreement, an African success that we should back. It is the only solution. So I welcome what we have heard today from the African heads of State. Every one of them has reaffirmed his support for Lusaka and its principles and his commitment to its implementation. This is a strong foundation on which we can now build.

There has been some progress in implementing Lusaka. President Chiluba was right to remind us just how much has already been achieved. I should like to say to President Chiluba that I normally have to apologize for the British weather; now I find that I also have to apologize for the British flu. The mechanisms to oversee implementation are being put in place. Some observers have been deployed.

But I agree with President Chissano of Mozambique that progress has been too slow. Fighting is continuing and the national dialogue has yet to get under way. There has been no planning for demobilization, disarmament and reintegration (DDR). The Lusaka timetable has slipped. We need an updated and realistic timetable, with targets and benchmarks against which progress can be measured that can form the basis of a partnership between the African parties and the international community. I welcome the work done in Harare to take this forward.

The national dialogue is crucial to the future of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its people. We are delighted that former President Masire has agreed to facilitate the talks, and I hope that a date will be set now for the start of the dialogue. I welcome President Kabila's affirmation today of his readiness to begin that dialogue immediately. I also welcome his commitment to see this process lead to free and fair elections and lasting national reconciliation. I call on all Congolese to engage constructively, wholeheartedly and without preconditions. Former President Masire underlined the need for resources to assist the dialogue. Britain is providing funding. We are prepared to consider further support.

We must move forward on the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the militia groups. Without a credible DDR plan, Lusaka will fail. We should now agree on a set of political principles to underpin disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. These should include ending support for all non-state militias; the peaceful reintegration of those fighters from neighbouring States into their countries of origin — except for those accused of genocide, who should face justice — and arrangements to achieve this which are as far as possible cooperative and voluntary; the provision for collective action by the parties — if this ultimately proves necessary — to compel militia members who refuse voluntarily to disarm and disband to do so; and international monitoring to give all sides the reassurance they need to make the process work.

I hope that this week — in the next few days — we can agree on a way forward on DDR based on these principles. If so, we should invite the Joint Military Commission (JMC), the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and the World Bank to take these principles forward and, in discussion with the parties, produce a viable and fully worked out DDR plan.

Next, we need to ensure that the mechanisms established by Lusaka to monitor and implement the ceasefire and eventual troop withdrawal work better. Those charged with overseeing this — the JMC, the Political Committee, the OAU and the United Nations — have a crucial part to play. We welcome what they have done so far. We encourage them to work still more closely together to drive the peace process forward. They need to exercise leadership and to hold the parties accountable for their actions.

As President Chiluba has reminded us, Lusaka's implementation mechanisms will work properly only if they are properly resourced. Britain has already provided funding to the JMC. We welcome the announcement of further support made by Canada today. Britain has provided personnel to the United Nations, who are now working closely with the JMC. More resources will be needed. We are looking at what more we may be able to do. We encourage others to do so, not least those in Europe.

I agree with President Chissano of Mozambique that we must address the humanitarian situation urgently. It is deteriorating, and there is growing hardship. We are willing to help, but we cannot get to all of those most in need. There must be access for non-governmental

organizations and United Nations agencies to make the assessments that we all need to be able to provide assistance. I call on those concerned to make those pledges here today and over the coming few days of negotiations.

It is absolutely crucial for us to agree on the next phase of a United Nations mission — what it should do and what support it should have. We agree with the Secretary-General that the next stage of the United Nations mission should be to deploy a force to monitor the ceasefire and the redeployment of troops to defensive positions. It needs adequate protection and the right logistical support. And it needs to be on the ground as soon as possible.

We should also reaffirm now our readiness to support, as soon as conditions allow, a full United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is time to bury the ghosts of the past and to ensure an effective United Nations peacekeeping operation. As President Museveni said, the cost of action is high, but the cost of inaction is higher still.

But let us be clear on the mandate. I understand why President Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Museveni of Uganda insist that there will need to be Chapter VII authority. I also agree with President Bizimungu of Rwanda that a new Security Council resolution is urgently required. We need a force that will help the parties themselves to implement the Lusaka Agreement, a force that can do so provided that all the parties continue to show the same political commitment to the Agreement that their leaders have shown today — a force which will have guarantees of security and cooperation from all concerned. I welcome President Kabila's important commitments today in this regard, and those from all the other African heads of State directly involved.

The heads of State have all called for urgent United Nations deployment. President Chiluba rightly said this morning that there is no peacekeeping that does not have some element of risk. I agree with him. But those risks must be minimized, not just to protect individual United Nations personnel, of whom we have lost too many in recent years, but also to sustain the international momentum behind the implementation of Lusaka. The factors which maximize the prospects for success — political determination and effective organization — also serve to minimize risk. Energetic commitment to Lusaka and a speedy, well-executed United Nations peacekeeping operation therefore go hand in hand.

Last, we must keep the Democratic Republic of the Congo high on the international agenda. As President Mugabe so correctly underlined, there must be no marginalization or segregation of this and Africa's other challenges.

President Dos Santos's important contribution to the debate reminds us of the terrible neglect of another African conflict. We must make United Nations sanctions against UNITA bite and bite now and we support Ambassador Fowler's excellent work to achieve this.

But the Congo crisis is now the major challenge facing Africa and one of the biggest challenges facing the United Nations and the international community. Britain will back all those determined to make the Lusaka Agreement work: with finance, practical help, people on the ground and political support.

The Secretary-General told the heads of State this morning that this is their opportunity to serve the African people and to enlist international support here today. What all speakers have said today has done both. Britain will stand with those leaders of Africa who are the peacemakers of Africa. Let us go forward together in partnership.

The President: I hope the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom will be with us for the rest of the week as we continue our deliberations.

I am delighted that the Minister Delegate for Cooperation and Francophonie of France is with us. I know he has just returned from a trip to Africa of great importance.

Mr. Josselin (France) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I wish to thank the presidency of the Security Council for having taken the initiative of convening this open meeting of the Council on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. While the international community is well aware of the gravity of the crisis and of its important implications for the peace, stability and development of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region, it must now fully assume its responsibilities and strongly support the process begun with the signing of the Lusaka Agreement. For its part, France stands ready.

The Lusaka Agreement, the basis of a negotiated solution agreed by all the parties, is today the sole

complete consensual instrument that can lead to the restoration of peace. Although it has encountered certain problems and is not running according to the very ambitious timetable set by the signatories, the implementation of the Agreement has begun. The Political Committee and the Joint Military Commission, the keystones of the Agreement, have been established. They are meeting regularly and have taken important decisions on both their own internal organization and on how to monitor the implementation of the Agreement.

Although unacceptable ceasefire violations — particularly those occurring in recent weeks — are to be deplored, the overall military situation has stabilized. The international community — particularly the United Nations, through the creation of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the announcement of an imminent peacekeeping operation — the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the European Union have all rapidly committed themselves to supporting the process, thus lending it additional credibility and legitimacy.

We must recognize that the implementation of this Agreement has been too slow — as many speakers this morning emphasized — due certainly to a lack of trust and cooperation among the signatories and because a certain number of elements remain to be clarified or investigated further before all the belligerents are fully convinced that this is the right approach, *inter alia*, to ensuring their own security.

The absence at this point of an international system to monitor implementation of the Agreement — due to a lack of resources for the Joint Military Commission and to the delay in deploying United Nations personnel — regrettably encourages further ceasefire violations that threaten at any moment to reignite the conflict.

The host of unacceptable realities includes the significant ongoing presence of foreign troops on Congolese territory — in some cases against the will of that country's authorities — numerous human rights violations and the growing traffic in and illegal exploitation of the resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The national dialogue, which is to produce a new consensus essential to a lasting solution to the crisis, has yet to begin following the recent felicitous nomination of its Facilitator, former President of Botswana Masire.

I would stress that the failure to respect the timetable attests to the distrust among the parties and compromises its implementation. But how are we to overcome this obstacle if we ourselves remain hesitant? France appeals yet again to the sense of responsibility and spirit of compromise of the parties to the conflict, many of whom I met during my recent travels in Central Africa. France solemnly recalls that the international community can consider offering concrete support for the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, particularly through a peacekeeping operation, only if its signatories clearly demonstrate their will to abide by their commitments and to reconcile their differences. That is what I heard from the African leaders this morning.

But these leaders also expect the States members of the Security Council to commit ourselves to them, first and foremost, by sustained and credible action of the United Nations speedily to strengthen respect for the ceasefire. Without that, no progress can be made on the other aspects of the Agreement. In this respect, we welcome the recommendations made this morning by the Secretary-General, the security aspects of which remain to be fully determined but which will facilitate the actual and verified implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. They also open the door to subsequent United Nations involvement on a larger scale, which we ardently desire and which will help complete and consolidate the peace process once conditions permit, *inter alia*, in terms of security and the fidelity of the parties to their commitments.

President Jacques Chirac has often said that we are ready to support deployment of the operation, be it by despatching Blue Helmets or by equipping certain African contingents participating in it. The deployment of the peacekeeping operation should enable the parties to abide by their commitments to demobilize and reintegrate the former combatants of armed groups. That will occur, however, only if the countries from which the groups originate came undertake to make the necessary reciprocal arrangements to ease their return.

Measures must quickly be taken to end the illegal exploitation of the country's resources. To that end, a panel of experts could be established forthwith under the auspices of the Secretary-General to analyse the situation and propose solutions.

Secondly, we will undertake to help organize the national dialogue. This is not a preliminary to deploying the peacekeeping operation, which clearly cannot wait;

we feel, rather, that it is essential to achieving political agreement among the Congolese, re-establishing state authority throughout the territory and assembling the elements of genuine national consensus, without which the sovereignty, national integrity and democracy of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will remain fragile, if not hypothetical. To be credible, the dialogue must proceed along the lines set forth in the Lusaka Agreement and without foreign interference. France welcomes the appointment of President Masire as Facilitator of the national dialogue and assures him of our full support.

Lastly, I would stress the prospects that would be opened up by an international conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region. It is clearly up to the countries concerned whether or not to hold such a conference. However, we truly believe that if the Ceasefire Agreement were to open the way for such an initiative, such a conference would have a lasting impact. This is simply because such an approach would go to the root of the problems that underlie and have long fed the current conflict.

As the Council knows, France has for a long time suggested the holding of such a conference. The United Nations often talks about it, and I myself have noted that our conviction is now shared by a growing number of leaders who not only want to end this crisis, but who above all want to tackle its root causes. While we all want a return to peace, we must agree that such a peace will not be real or lasting unless there is a comprehensive study of the phenomena that have for so long hampered peace and have led to chain reactions in the region.

It is quite clear to us that the peace processes under way — the Arusha process for Burundi and the Lusaka process for the Democratic Republic of the Congo — are fundamental prerequisites for the holding of such a conference. In other words, the conference cannot be held unless tangible progress is first made in those processes. Such a conference would be the basis for a new commitment by the international community to reconstruction, development and democracy in the countries of the region.

There are three sets of issues that could be addressed. These include the questions of peace and security, which necessarily and obviously touch upon the issue of border control and involve all the parties and the principle of territorial integrity. No less important would be the implementation of measures to restore democracy, the rule of law and respect for fundamental freedoms — first and foremost those of minorities and refugees — as well as doing away with any ideology of exclusion.

Finally, the Great Lakes region of Africa needs to be supported in a major effort of reconstruction and development. The region awaits a manifestation of international solidarity in the struggle against poverty and, thus, for improved social well-being; in favour of trade and, for regional economic integration; and, let us not forget, for the restoration of the basic functions of States in administration, justice and security.

The conference, organized by the OAU with the support of the United Nations, could lead to the adoption of a declaration of principles, to be followed by a series of bilateral and multilateral agreements and partnerships to define the modalities of its implementation.

France is resolutely committed to the Lusaka Agreement, both through the liaison officers it has made available to the United Nations and through the assistance it provides to the Joint Military Commission. We are resolved to support all activities along the lines I have mentioned. We have only one desire: a peace in the region that is solid and lasting, which will require exemplary determination and solidarity. As I said, France stands at the ready.

The President: This completes the ministerial portion of today's important meeting.

The next speaker was supposed to be the United States. I am waiving our turn.

We now begin the rotation of the Security Council members.

Several speakers have already said that they would like to remove themselves from the list of speakers. Anyone who does so is welcome to send us a copy of the text and, as President, I will distribute it immediately to all other members of the Security Council. So I hope that speakers' remarks will be as short as possible.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): About five weeks ago, when the Council held an open debate on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, there appeared to exist different perceptions of the situation and, hence, differing approaches as to the future course of action. It is reassuring for us, listening to the important statements of African leaders before the Security Council today, to note that there now exists a greater potential for

convergence. This opportunity has to be nurtured, pursued in full earnest and given a concrete shape.

The commitment of the leadership to peace and security for the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region has been demonstrated today by the representation at the highest level of Lusaka signatories, including the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Secretary-General, Mr. Salim Salim. Secretary-General Kofi Annan's close involvement deserves our deep appreciation.

In this context, let me say how much we owe to the leadership of the United States, to the personal intervention of Secretary of State Albright and to Ambassador Holbrooke for his tireless endeavour in making this historic meeting happen. His initiative has made our collective intervention for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo a realistic proposition.

The last six months have proved that the Lusaka Agreement remains the most pragmatic and practical basis for the resolution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and for peace and security in the Great Lakes region. The deviation from the peace process and the manoeuvres aimed at a military solution are bound to fail. Such a path has instead established an illegal war market, helped a business bonanza flourish and drained valuable resources. It has exacerbated the dire humanitarian and socio-economic condition of hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

The message of this gathering of the African leadership at the United Nations appropriately underlines that the next crucial step will require greater understanding, larger cooperation and bolder decisions to seize the opportunity that exists here and now.

President Masire brings statesmanship and influence to the process as the neutral facilitator for the inter-Congolese dialogue. His role is of critical importance. He will have our full support in his efforts for national reconciliation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We believe he will receive the same support and cooperation from all the parties concerned.

Turning to the future course of action in concrete terms, Bangladesh takes the following position on the five areas of major concern.

The first area of concern is the question of the framework for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We join others in affirming that the Lusaka Agreement remains the most viable basis for peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the subregion. The Agreement is comprehensive. It is supported by the Security Council resolutions that recognize the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and all States in the region. Its implementation will require unwavering political will, sincere commitment and the effective cooperation of all the signatories. The Lusaka mechanisms, notably the Joint Military Commission, have already received commitments of financial support from several countries, which we hope will realize their pledges urgently. Resources for the facilitator's mission are also needed immediately.

Second is the concept of operation and the mandate of the proposed United Nations peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Ambassador Kamel Morjane, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, has been in the field. Ambassador Holbrooke has also been on a tour of the region recently and has come back with a first-hand assessment of the situation. We believe that in the given context, the outlines provided in the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/2000/30, of 17 January, represent a realistic proposition. The Security Council needs to act quickly on this proposal so that the United Nations military presence is established without delay. We regard this as an interim mission in preparation for a larger and more robust peacekeeping mission. As and when necessary, Bangladesh remains ready to contribute to the expanded peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Third is the need for progress towards the third phase. A more robust mission with a Chapter VII mandate needs to be considered in due course for the implementation of the remaining provisions of the Lusaka Agreement, including the disarmament and demobilization of armed groups,monitoring and verifying the withdrawal of foreign troops and securing the frontiers.

It is underlined that real progress through these phases would be possible only with concomitant national dialogue and reconciliation. We call upon all parties to cooperate fully with President Masire in this regard. National reconciliation will of course require re-establishment of State authority over the entire

territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and end to the pillaging of the country's natural resources.

Fourth is the full implementation of the Lusaka Agreement and moving beyond. This would involve the implementation of chapter 12 of annex A of the Agreement, providing for normalization of the security situation along common borders between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its neighbours. An extended mandate of an expanded United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo should be envisaged in that perspective.

Finally, as the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been the theatre of several external conflicts involving the Congolese people and their neighbours, a comprehensive political settlement will be essential. In this respect, we support the idea of an international conference to deal with issues relating to peace and security, post-conflict peace-building and democracy and development in the Great Lakes region.

This morning the World Food Programme appealed for safe and unimpeded access for humanitarian organizations to all people in need of food aid and other relief supplies in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Given the grave food security situation, we urge the Council and all parties concerned to support this appeal.

We hope the next couple of days will be seized in order to narrow the differences and to commence the much-awaited national dialogue. It would be a significant achievement if the Lusaka signatories could approve here in New York the new calendar agreed by the Political Committee at Harare last week, setting a practical schedule for implementation. This will be critically important for the momentum that is much needed by the international community, including United Nations agencies, to carry forward the initiative for peace. It is essential that a culture of peace should be fostered to replace the culture of war and violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the embattled Great Lakes region, to the benefit of all.

Mr. Ben Mustapha (Tunisia)(*spoke in Arabic*): I would like at the outset to welcome on behalf of Tunisia the heads of State of the African countries and the Ministers participating in this very important meeting. Their presence here expresses the special importance they attach to the issue we are discussing today: the situation in the Great Lakes region, and particularly in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. My country, Tunisia, which has made our continent, Africa, one its foreign policy priorities, shares the sense of importance that has been clearly manifested today and that is apparent in the statements of the African leaders this morning and of the heads of delegation before the Council.

I wish to express to you, Mr. President, our appreciation for your friendly country and for your personal efforts in taking the positive initiative of including this issue in this month's series of meetings dealing with African issues.

The issue of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is truly a central issue that has broad dimensions and is related to the situation in the Great Lakes region. The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo continues, as do tragedies, strife and the exploitation of the resources of the Congolese people, who continue to suffer and also at the expense of the entire region and its security, peace and stability. In this context, we are very concerned at the deterioration in the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has become tragic with the increase in the number of refugees and internally displaced persons, the lack of food security and the deterioration in health conditions. This situation threatens any attempt to bring about an end to the conflict. We call primarily for more support to be given to the efforts made by United Nations specialized agencies in providing the necessary assistance to alleviate the suffering of the Congolese people.

In this meeting we have heard many valuable statements, in which many African leaders have shown what is being done — within the Organization of African Unity, within the Southern African Development Community or at the personal or individual level, as well as the tireless efforts being made to deal with the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region and to smooth relations between the various parties concerned. These efforts resulted in the signing of the Lusaka Agreement, which has enjoyed great support from the international community, especially from the Security Council, and is aimed at ending tragedy and war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Agreement supports the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and provides for the security and stability of neighbouring countries, as well as good relations with them. We hope that all parties will sincerely and seriously implement this Agreement.

However, six months following the signing of the Agreement, when the Lusaka mechanism began to

operate, with close cooperation between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, we note that the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the region generally is still precarious and difficult. There have been repeated violations of the Agreement, which represent a real threat to the future of the Agreement and a return to large-scale war. This is a source of serious concern for us.

We reiterate our position that there is no alternative to a negotiated peaceful settlement between the parties. We call on them to respect the Ceasefire Agreement and to fulfil their commitments. The international community must help them achieve this objective. We must support the Joint Military Commission to enhance its efficiency. Within this framework, the international community must reaffirm the importance of respecting the territorial integrity, sovereignty and unity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as its natural resources.

The United Nations is still focusing on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Secretary-General has prepared a new report (S/2000/30) in which he has proposed gradual measures to be taken by the United Nations to deploy military observers and to send a large-scale peacekeeping mission. However, due to the complexity of the conflict and the vast area of the country, this mission is considered one of the most difficult in United Nations history. Therefore, we must have the necessary political will and must plan carefully for this mission and its mandate, and we must provide the requisite financial and logistical resources.

Tunisia supports these proposals and reaffirms its readiness to participate with its available resources. It calls upon the international community and the donor States to assume responsibility and calls upon all parties to the conflict to cooperate with the mission, to provide unhindered access to its personnel and to accelerate its implementation and success. This is their first responsibility.

We wish to commend the cooperation between the OAU and the United Nations in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, particularly through the Joint Military Commission. We commend the support given by some States to provide it with resources. We register great satisfaction over the work of the Political Committee, and we call upon the parties to continue their efforts.

The Security Council has recently been asked to shoulder its responsibility with respect to African issues and to accelerate its pace on those issues. Some have said that the Democratic Republic of the Congo will constitute a test of the Council's commitment; that test is taking place today. The Council must prove its commitment to follow up its previous resolutions on the Democratic Republic of the Congo and to implement them, and to work quickly to protect the Lusaka Agreement.

As a new member of the Security Council, Tunisia assumes its own role by calling upon the Congolese leadership to make every effort to engage in national dialogue and to achieve national reconciliation. In that context, we welcome the agreement by the Congolese parties on the appointment of the former President of Botswana as neutral facilitator of the political negotiations among those parties. We encourage him in his work, and wish him and our Congolese brothers every success.

Again, we believe that there is no alternative to dialogue, mutual understanding and national reconciliation; were these to exist, the Democratic Republic of the Congo would make great headway towards peace. We call for the provision of assistance to the Congolese parties so that they may begin their dialogue in an atmosphere of independence and seriousness.

We hail the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Kamel Morjane, and the entire United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for their intensive efforts to address the conflict in that country. We hope that today's meeting will contribute to the establishment of a dialogue among the parties to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the Great Lakes region with a view to reaching a common understanding of what is needed to put an end to the conflict.

The stability, peace and security of the region cannot be achieved overnight; they require time, political will, patience and mutual trust among all the parties, as well as genuine implementation of what has been agreed upon.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is related to the situation in the Great Lakes region and to developments on the other negotiating tracks. We must therefore think of the common, fundamental regional issues that we ought to consider in

a broader framework and to which we must find a comprehensive solution.

Tunisia has for many years followed developments in the Great Lakes region, and has sought to bring about rapprochement in that region; indeed, President Zine El Abidine ben Ali hosted a second summit meeting of leaders of the Great Lakes region in March 1996. Tunisia calls for the convening of an international conference on the Great Lakes region under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

The President: I thank the representative of Tunisia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The last speaker for today is the representative of Argentina, who will assume the presidency of the Security Council a week from tomorrow.

Mr. Listre (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish at the outset to express our pleasure that heads of State of the African countries concerned with the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have been present at this meeting, along with the representative of the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Their participation in this debate is an indication that the present conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has the greatest potential for destabilization of any since the end of the decolonization process. The persistence of that conflict has an impact on peace and security in the Great Lakes region, limits economic and social development there, and above all thwarts the expectation of the more than 50 million civilians affected by the war that they will be able to live in dignity.

We believe that resolution 1234 (1999), which the Security Council adopted unanimously, and the Lusaka Agreement, which was signed by all the parties, constitute the proper political and legal conceptual framework for putting an end to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. But there has not been enough political will to implement its provisions. The ceasefire has been frequently violated since the Agreement was signed in July 1999, and the redeployment of forces stipulated in the Agreement has not taken place. The situation grows increasingly fragile. As the Secretary-General has noted in paragraph 51 of his report, contained in document S/2000/30 of 17 January 2000, there is no military solution to the conflict. The present situation on the ground demonstrates this very clearly.

Unquestionably, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is essentially political in nature. But we believe it cannot be analysed or effectively resolved without consideration of other key principles of international law such as respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, non-interference in its internal affairs, the withdrawal of all foreign forces that are on its territory without its explicit consent, the inalienable right to individual or collective self-defence, and the illegality of the acquisition of territory by force. To these, let me add another principal that has a long history both in Latin America and in Africa: the inviolability of boundaries.

That said, it is clear that there will be no lasting solution unless due account is taken of the legitimate security concerns of all countries neighbouring the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in particular Rwanda and Uganda, and unless a system of explicit and objective guarantees is agreed upon. In that context, the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the various militias based mainly in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo — generically known as "negative forces" — is an essential and complex element that must be carefully and wisely studied.

In addition to the external dimension to which I have referred, the conflict has an internal dimension to which most other participants have alluded today, and which is recognized in the Lusaka Agreement: the inter-Congolese dialogue with the ultimate goal of establishing a democratic constitutional structure in which all sectors of Congolese society will be represented. Here, the appointment of the former President of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire, as facilitator, with the assent of all parties, is a first step towards national reconciliation.

We believe that the United Nations has a role to play and a historical responsibility to shoulder in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We agree with the Secretary-General, who said in his recent report that the United Nations presence should come about gradually and that the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo should be expanded.

At the same time, we wish to be clear on something that is of particular concern to us: all the parties concerned must give firm guarantees of the safety, security and freedom of movement of United Nations personnel. We know that we cannot demand absolute guarantees; that would place a nearly impossible condition on the deployment of United Nations forces in

a conflict zone. But we require from the parties involved an unambiguous commitment to the ceasefire and to the granting of reasonable security guarantees, something to which all the parties have made a commitment.

Let me repeat today in this open meeting what we have said in the past, and what we reaffirmed on Wednesday 19 January during the debate on the situation in Burundi, in the presence of President Nelson Mandela: there will be no stable solution in the Democratic Republic of the Congo without the promotion and consolidation of democratic institutions and good governance in all the countries of the Great Lakes region, and unless we recognize that the problems there are not solely military in nature or security-related. They are also, and in large part, problems of development. Thus, we repeat again our support for the French idea — eloquently reiterated today by the French Minister Delegate for Cooperation and Francophonie — that, when the proper circumstances exist, a general conference on the Great Lakes should be convened under the joint auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to address the situation in that region as a whole.

As you observed, Mr. President, my country will assume the presidency of the Security Council next month. We stand ready to continue to work on this issue with the Council and with other interested States, so that these deliberations may bear fruit in the form of a Security Council resolution that will facilitate the resolution of this tragic conflict.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina, and we look forward to turning the gavel over to him a week from tomorrow — I need some rest.

Several of the speakers inscribed on the list have already notified us that they would like the presidency of the Security Council to circulate their statements in writing. This includes both members of the Security Council and non-members; we will do so as requested. We will meet in informal session tomorrow morning to discuss the presidential statement in draft, at 9 a.m. Our goal will be to move as quickly as possible on it. We welcome the views of all members of the Security Council and other concerned parties through procedures that have already been established for individual input.

This has been, obviously, a remarkable day and a promising day — as the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity said, a momentous day — but the proof of the pudding will be in what we can produce in the way of a presidential statement and, ultimately, a Security Council resolution to respond to the statements made and desires expressed so eloquently by the heads of delegations and Presidents who assembled here today.

I apologize to those who have not had a chance to talk today. We will look forward to learning their views in other forums as quickly as possible, and, if necessary, we will reconvene.

The meeting was suspended at 5.20 p.m.

Security Council

Fifty-fifth Year

Provisional

4092nd Meeting

Wednesday, 26 January 2000, 12.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Holbrooke	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Kasse
	Namibia	Mr. Gurirab
	Nether'ands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Tekaya
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

00-26045 (E)

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The meeting was resumed on Wednesday, 26 January 2000, at 12.10 p.m.

The President: We have a very busy agenda, very limited time and a presidential statement to issue.

Let me thank those nations that have agreed to circulate their statements; I will ask the Secretariat to do so. Those countries are Brazil, Cape Verde, Colombia, Eritrea, India, Israel, Lesotho, Norway, Tanzania and the United States. If any other nation wishes to distribute its statement, we will be happy to do so.

Mr. Hamer (Netherlands): During its presidency of the Security Council in September of last year, the Netherlands organized a special meeting to help the Council focus more closely on the daunting issues facing Africa at the outset of what we hoped would be the "African century". Surely the current "month of Africa", so energetically sponsored by you, Mr. President, is an auspicious first step at the start of this new century.

We were impressed by the attendance at this debate of so many heads of State from the countries most immediately involved in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Surely this bodes well for the future of that troubled region. In particular, we hope that further talks will produce a realistic timetable for the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement.

We have before us a very thoughtful and thought-provoking report of the Secretary-General (S/2000/30). It makes the point that the international community's intensified involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is predicated upon the renewed and strengthened commitment of the parties to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. It makes it just as clear that there is no realistic alternative to the Lusaka Agreement. It is therefore all the more distressing that the Agreement is being violated systematically. We urge the signatories to end all military action in violation of the Agreement.

Priority attention needs to be accorded to improving the disappointing performance of the Joint Military Commission (JMC). The Netherlands supports the JMC financially; in fact, international financial support for the JMC is such that lack of resources cannot credibly be said to be an obstacle to the JMC's taking the key role foreseen in the Agreement. The JMC needs to meet more frequently to monitor the numerous ceasefire violations. The opening of a permanent JMC secretariat should be considered in order to facilitate a more hands-on approach. We call on all parties and the Organization of African Unity to renew their efforts to improve the JMC's effectiveness and credibility. Without a reinvigorated JMC, the efforts of the United Nations will fall on barren soil.

A new political arrangement is necessary inside the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including the development of democratic and accountable State structures which address the problems of multi-ethnicity and power sharing. While we regret that the national dialogue in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has taken so long to get off the ground, we look forward to early results from President Masire's endeavours as the facilitator of this process. I would second the United Kingdom Minister's view that a starting date for this dialogue should ideally be announced this week. The Netherlands firmly pledges its financial support to the process.

A key threat to the Lusaka Agreement is constituted by the Interahamwe and former Rwandese Armed Forces, whose activities, past and present, are at the root of the conflict. Their disarmament, demobilization and reintegration into society, though a monumental task, will be a crucial step in the peace process. The restoration of the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will need to go hand in hand with the accommodation of the legitimate security needs of its neighbours. In fact, such is the involvement of regional Powers in this conflict that in due course, an international conference will need to address the question of peace, stability, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region as a whole.

The purpose of our current debate is twofold: apart from reaffirming the parties' commitment to Lusaka, it will serve to inform the Council's response to the Secretary-General's recommendations for the second phase of the United Nations operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Despite the obvious risks of deployment in an environment of instability, the Netherlands supports the dispatch of 500 observers, as proposed in the Secretary-General's report, if adequate protection can be ensured. We must get it right this time, and we must be willing to adopt the right mandate with matching resources. The success of your efforts, Mr. President, to bring the United States Congress on board will, of course, be crucial to our ability to find these resources.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has only aggravated the misery caused during a

long history of human rights violations. All over the country, the parties to the conflict have been involved in such violations. We call on the parties to respect human rights and ensure the punishment of those who violate them.

Finally, there are two important aspects that directly and indirectly fuel the conflict: the arms trade and the exploitation of natural resources.

The Council, in September last year under the Netherlands presidency, devoted a special session to small arms and called for measures to discourage arms flows to countries in conflict. The Council, on that occasion, also referred to the possibility of voluntary and regional moratoriums to facilitate reconciliation. These recommendations apply very specifically to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in view of the large quantities of weapons on its soil. As a first step, we would call on United Nations Member States that have not done so yet to adopt the policy and the guiding principles of the European Union Code of Conduct and refrain from arms exports to the Great Lakes region.

The exploitation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's economic resources by several parties helps to continue the conflict, enabling them to finance military expenditures. We need to redress this situation quickly and prevent the illegal exploitation of these resources. Perhaps it would be feasible for the Secretary-General to report back to the Security Council on this aspect on the basis of findings of a panel of experts, similar to the approach that has been followed in the case of Angola. We support wholeheartedly the very sensible suggestions made to this effect by the ministers of France and, on an earlier occasion, the United Kingdom.

The President: As this may be his last appearance before the Security Council, we warmly welcome Ambassador Qin Huasun.

Mr. Qin Huasun (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The Chinese delegation wishes warmly to welcome the participation of the heads of States of so many African countries; the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Mr. Salim Salim; and Sir Ketumile Masire to the Security Council's consultations on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. At the same time, we would like to thank you, Sir, for the efforts you have made and for this innovative arrangement.

To help the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo free themselves from the sufferings of war and to bring peace to that country poses a serious challenge to the international community, especially the Security Council. The Chinese delegation has made repeated appeals to the international community and the United Nations to commit the necessary financial and human resources as soon as possible to resolve the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, so as to avoid paying an even higher price in the future. To resolve this conflict, African countries and the international community made unremitting mediation efforts and brought together the various sides to the conflict to sign last July's Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. Regrettably, however, the Agreement has not been effectively observed or implemented. The long-awaited United Nations peacekeeping operation has yet to be put in place, even though the issue has been the subject of lengthy discussion in the Council.

We are gratified to see the detailed report that the Secretary-General has prepared on United Nations action in the next phase. In the report, the Secretary-General proposes that military observers and troops be sent to the region. We hope that the Council will make full use of this rare opportunity, while heads of State of the African countries concerned are gathered here in New York, and move promptly. We support the adoption by the Security Council of the presidential statement before us and hope that it will mark a new starting point for the support of the international community for the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation there.

The Chinese delegation has listened with great interest to all previous speakers, including the heads of State of African countries, Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. Salim Salim. I now wish to take this opportunity to emphasize the following points.

First, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo must be fully respected and safeguarded. This is a prerequisite for resolving the conflict.

Secondly, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, as the basis for resolving the conflict, should be implemented in full and scrupulously. The Agreement is a worthy attempt by the African people to resolve their conflicts. The mediation efforts made by President Chiluba, the OAU

and the Southern African Development Community should be respected and supported by all sides.

Thirdly, the timely deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is an essential guarantee for resolving the conflict. Having listened to the views of relevant African countries, the Council should accelerate its consideration and implementation of the Secretary-General's proposal to send up to 500 military observers and 5,500 troops to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The peacekeeping mission should be given an appropriate mandate. This is crucial under the current circumstances and will be a critical test of the Security Council's political will and determination.

Fourthly, all-inclusive national political dialogue is an effective means to realize national reconciliation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. At the same time, internal dialogue within the Democratic Republic of the Congo will not be possible without a stable external environment. The peace and reconciliation processes go hand in hand. We welcome the appointment by Secretary-General Annan of Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, as the Facilitator. We wish Sir Ketumile every success.

Fifthly, eradicating poverty and ensuring economic development with international assistance are the fundamental way for the Democratic Republic of the Congo to achieve lasting peace and stability. In this connection, we support the proposal that an international conference on peace, stability, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region be convened.

The road to peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will not be smooth, but we are confident that, so long as the international community seizes its opportunities and makes concerted efforts, and so long as the various sides to the conflict engage in genuine reconciliation and honour their commitments, an era of peace and stability will soon begin for the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to the American presidency.

I want to welcome to the Chamber the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Salim Salim; the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the Minister of Cooperation of Uganda; and other representatives who have come here for this extraordinary meeting.

I also want to thank the representative of Egypt for announcing that he, too, will circulate his statement. I consider this a great act of friendship in the interests of our effort, particularly coming from a country of such enormous importance to all of us in Africa and around the world.

Ms. Durrant (Jamaica): By convening this meeting, the United States presidency has provided the Security Council with an opportunity to reinvigorate the process for peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and, by extension, in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

Last week, the Council heard from former President Nelson Mandela, who apprised us of the developments in the Arusha peace process for Burundi. We recognize only too well the interconnection between the Lusaka and the Arusha processes and commend you, Sir, for your foresight in making the linkage between two crisis situations as the Council focuses on Africa this month.

It is against this background that we join previous speakers in welcoming the participation in this meeting of so many African leaders and the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Their presence here underscores the important role which the United Nations can play in bringing peace to the Great Lakes region.

My delegation further wishes to thank the United Nations Secretary-General for his comprehensive and detailed report on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and for his valuable introductory statement. In particular, we welcome his analysis and recommendations, which should form the basis for action by the Council. My delegation also wishes to express appreciation to the Secretary-General and his special representatives for their efforts to move the peace process forward.

My delegation recognizes only too well the difficulties and complexities that must be overcome in order to achieve a durable peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We are aware of how seemingly intractable the problems are, but no matter how difficult it might seem to find solutions, the suffering of the people involved impels us to use our best efforts to put an end to their misery. We believe that, even where there

appears to be doubt and pessimism, the strength and determination of a few can become a catalyst for the movement towards peace.

My delegation has therefore been heartened by the expressions of hope and the pledges of political will and commitment made by all the African leaders in their statements before the Council. We agree that it is vital to create the conditions for lasting peace based on the full implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. The elements of such a peace must include the security of borders of the States concerned, their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and their full enjoyment of their national resources.

In this connection, we support the call for the immediate cessation of hostilities and reaffirm support for the unity, stability and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the charter of Organization of African Unity. To this end, the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Democratic Republic of the Congo must take place in accordance with the Lusaka Agreement.

Jamaica supports the pursuit of a national inter-Congolese dialogue. This dialogue, we believe, is an indispensable step towards national reconciliation and lasting peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We are pleased that the former President of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire, has accepted the appointment as facilitator of that dialogue, and we wish him success in his efforts — which deserve the material and moral support of the international community.

The precarious security situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo continues to be a cause for concern. The heightened military activity of armed groups and the danger of large-scale violence among ethnic groups seriously diminish the achievement of the goals of the Lusaka Agreement. We urge those who believe that they have a legitimate right to petition for justice and full participation in the political governance of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to do so through the processes provided at the bargaining table and not at the end of the barrel of a gun, recognizing that there can be no military solution to the conflict.

My delegation is deeply disturbed by the worsening humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, especially by the fact that increased insecurity in the war zones is making it difficult for humanitarian aid workers to have access to vulnerable populations. We have noted from the Secretary-General's report that more than 960,000 persons are now mostly inaccessible. The increasing number of internally displaced persons and refugees has serious ramifications not only for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but also for the neighbouring countries — with some 280,000 citizens of the Democratic Republic of the Congo now being refugees in the Republic of the Congo, Zambia and Tanzania. We call on all the parties to the conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian nature of the refugee camps and to act in accordance with international humanitarian law.

We also wish to pay tribute to and encourage the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme and the non-governmental humanitarian organizations involved in caring for and facilitating the repatriation of refugees to continue their work despite the difficulties encountered.

The Secretary-General's report also highlighted the critical food insecurity facing some 10 million persons in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the high levels of chronic and acute malnutrition in children under five. We urge the international community to respond favourably to the United Nations Consolidated Appeal for 2000, and we note with deep regret that the low response to the 1999 Appeal made it impossible for the United Nations to provide life-saving intervention.

The Secretary-General's report also draws attention to reports of the victimization of children and their recruitment as child soldiers. We agree with the Secretary-General that in order to ensure that the lives of children are protected, it will be necessary to act before the fragile Ceasefire Agreement further erodes. In this regard, the Secretary-General has pointed to the valuable assistance that the civilian protection personnel authorized under resolution 1279 (1999) could give, once they are in place in ensuring a comprehensive approach to child protection throughout all the stages of the making and consolidating of peace and in complementing the work of the United Nations Children's Fund.

The Lusaka Agreement has allowed the demobilization and rehabilitation of ex-combatants to move forward, and we urge the parties to cooperate in implementation of this, beginning with the vulnerable groups: children, the handicapped and the chronically disabled.

My delegation is concerned that inaction on the part of the Security Council could result in continued loss of life, further deterioration in the humanitarian situation, and a reversal of the progress already achieved in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. We therefore believe that the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report must be speedily acted upon.

We support the view that the Joint Military Commission (JMC) has a key role to play and that it should be established on a permanent basis in order to carry out its functions. Efforts to coordinate its activities with those of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) should be continued. Given the crucial role assigned to the JMC, it must be provided with resources to support its operations. We must acknowledge with appreciation the support already pledged by several countries. Jamaica supports the expansion of MONUC, as proposed by the Secretary-General, and the eventual deployment of a peacekeeping mission. In this connection, we believe that the forces involved must operate under robust rules of engagement.

We remain firmly committed to the belief that collective action is the best approach to addressing the complex situation which obtains, and we wish to place on record our appreciation of the efforts of the OAU, the Southern African Development Community and President Chiluba, which have resulted in significant strides towards brokering peace in the Great Lakes region. This notwithstanding, the Security Council cannot abdicate its role in the maintenance of peace and international security. The United Nations must continue to work closely with the OAU in a coordinated way to promote mediation and negotiations among the parties concerned and to support the African leaders, who have sought to provide an African solution to the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will not be achievable without addressing the security situation of the entire Great Lakes region. Jamaica therefore fully supports the holding of an international conference on peace and security and development in the Great Lakes region, in due course, under the auspices of the United Nations and the OAU. It is our belief that only a holistic and integrated approach to the crisis will result in lasting peace.

We believe that we must go forward from here determined to make a difference in promoting peace and security for the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the people of the Great Lakes region and the people of Africa. We share in the hope of those who believe that peace and security are not only possible and attainable, but important for the international peace and security of us all.

The President: I would like to announce that two more countries or organizations will waive their right to speak. The first is Mr. Bouabid, from the International Organization of la Francophonie, and I thank him. The second is Japan. We will circulate both of their statements.

Ambassador Yukio Satoh, to whom I am deeply grateful, has asked me, however, to read two sentences from his speech to all of you now because they are of great importance.

> "Japan is prepared to make an additional financial contribution of $300,000 to promote a national dialogue facilitated by Sir Ketumile Masire. With the contribution of $200,000 already made last November to the Joint Military Commission (JMC), Japan's financial contribution to the Lusaka peace process now amounts to $500,000."

I would ask Mr. Salim to bring this to the attention of the facilitator as soon as possible. I think it will be welcome news.

Mr. Yel'chenko (Ukraine): Ukraine entirely associates itself with the judgement that the Democratic Republic of the Congo is the major challenge facing Africa, the United Nations and the international community as a whole. Nothing is more convincing in this regard than the unprecedented high profile of the Council's meeting last Monday. Therefore, the Government of Ukraine will support any endeavour that can bring us closer to achieving success in coping with the formidable task of the peaceful resolution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

It is against this background that Ukraine praises the initiative of the American presidency of the Security Council in organizing this meeting, which already has all grounds to become an extraordinary one.

We applaud and warmly welcome the leaders of the countries that signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, whose very presence here gave an important signal that peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is an

achievable goal. Ukraine shares the dominant view that the Lusaka Agreement represents the most viable basis for the resolution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Perhaps since the beginning of contemporary international relations, diplomacy has produced hardly any single perfect international treaties. The only technique for achieving perfection — that is, for restoring peace, resolving disputes or settling differences — has been the strict implementation of the provisions of the treaties in question. We are strongly convinced that in order to achieve peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the whole Great Lakes region the same technique should be applied to the Lusaka Agreement.

Like the other members of the Security Council, Ukraine is gravely concerned at the further deterioration of the military and security situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and at the ongoing violations of the ceasefire. We are also seriously worried about the deepening of the humanitarian crisis in the region, which we consider to be a direct result of the continuing disregard of the Lusaka Agreement.

We strongly support the call for a renewed commitment by the parties to that instrument. In that connection, we are encouraged by the statements that heads of State from the region made two days ago before the Security Council. The Secretary-General is absolutely right in concluding that such strengthened commitment is an essential prerequisite for vigorous international action in support of the Lusaka Agreement and for allocation by the international community of the significant resources required to that end.

At the same time, we also strongly believe that any further hesitation on the part of the Security Council in speeding up the United Nations deployment in the Democratic Republic of the Congo would have a negative effect on the peace efforts in that part of the world.

In that respect, we thank the Secretary-General for his well-conceived recommendations for the next stage of the deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, submitted in his report of 17 January 2000 (S/2000/30). Ukraine will encourage the Security Council to take prompt action on those recommendations. The deployment of United Nations military observers will leave no excuse for further delays in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. We call on the parties to reach an accord on a new, realistic and workable calendar for implementation of the Agreement.

The parties to the Agreement should pay special attention to putting an end to the presence of foreign troops in the Democratic Republic of the Congo when that presence is inconsistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter. Ukraine strongly maintains that no consideration can justify measures taken in violation of fundamental principles of international law, in particular the principles of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of States.

Furthermore, we would like to express our concern at the reports of illegal exploitation of the economic resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Security Council should be prepared to take concrete measures to stop such illegal activities.

We recognize that the problem of armed groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo dangerously affects the security of many States in Central Africa. Particular emphasis has to be placed on the problem of security on the eastern border of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We agree that launching a comprehensive disarmament and demobilization process for the armed groups operating in that country is a matter of urgency.

Ukraine also supports the initiative of the French Government to convene at an appropriate stage an international conference for the Great Lakes region to address comprehensively all remaining root causes of the current conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, some of which, as we know, go deep into history.

Recent events should not be forgotten either. That is why, in our opinion, the report of the independent inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda should become the subject of our thorough consideration.

In conclusion, I would like to express our optimism that this "week of the Democratic Republic of the Congo" within the Security Council's "month of Africa" will produce very concrete results contributing to the restoration of peace and security in the Central African region. The presidential statement to be issued today is a good first step. Quick Council action on the Democratic Republic of the Congo will meet the long-held expectations of African countries and of the whole international community, thus strengthening the credibility of the Security Council. From what we heard

on Monday, I think there are good grounds for such optimism. Let us work together to bring peace to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The President: I wish to thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for also yielding his place as a speaker; we shall distribute the text of his statement.

Mr. Mohammad Kamal (Malaysia): In view of your appeal for brevity, Mr. President, and as testimony to my delegation's readiness to cooperate with you as always, I shall read out only excerpts from my prepared statement.

Six months have passed since the parties signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, but the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has not improved and continues to be a serious cause for concern. The peace accord is still very fragile. My delegation could not agree more with the Secretary-General's assessment that

> "the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement remains the best hope for the resolution of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo". (*S/2000/30, para. 86*)

We firmly believe that the future peace and stability of the region rest on the successful implementation of the Agreement. My delegation joins other Council members in renewing the call on all the parties to uphold that Agreement and to use the Joint Military Commission more effectively to deal with allegations of violations of the Agreement. The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot be resolved without the full commitment and cooperation of all the signatories. Having commended them for their good judgement in signing the Agreement, we now urge them to show greater political will and commitment to make the process work. It is imperative that the parties work together in good faith and contribute positively to the smooth implementation of the Agreement.

As we remind the parties of their obligations and of their commitment to the peace process, we should equally remind ourselves of our own responsibilities here in the Council. The Security Council should make good its promise to act promptly with a view to deploying a full-fledged peacekeeping mission to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Were the United Nations to fail in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the ramifications would almost certainly be far-reaching and wide-ranging. The very credibility and authority of the Council would be in question. How we respond to the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will be a litmus test of the Council's commitment to maintaining peace and security in Africa. Time is of the essence, as a further delay in the deployment of United Nations peacekeepers would run the risk of unravelling the Lusaka Agreement.

Malaysia welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on further deployment of United Nations personnel in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (S/2000/30). We agree fully with the view that any United Nations force deployed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo should necessarily be large and adequately mandated to take up the task of monitoring the ceasefire and verifying the withdrawal of all foreign forces. This is in addition to the still unresolved question of who will bear the responsibility of disarming all armed groups in the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. While we support the Secretary-General's recommendation of an initial force of 5,537 officers and men to protect military observers and civilian staff of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), we would like to stress that this should be followed up quickly with a more substantial presence.

The deployment of United Nations peacekeepers will not in itself guarantee peace and security for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other countries in the region. Those countries will have to bear the principal responsibility for their own long-term security. Continued support by the international community will be contingent upon renewed and strengthened commitment by the signatories to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. We therefore call on the parties to cease military hostilities forthwith and to fully ensure the security and freedom of movement of United Nations personnel. The parties should cease their hostile propaganda, in particular incitements to attack unarmed civilians.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo has an external and an internal dimension. Clearly, the final resolution of the conflict will have to take into account both the legitimate security concerns of all the States involved and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Democratic Republic of Congo. In our view, the role of the Joint Military Commission is crucial to the success of the ceasefire and the subsequent consolidation of peace. In this regard, the Council should support the move to give the Joint Military Commission the appropriate enforcement authority.

In conclusion, my delegation reiterates its support for the convening of an international conference on the Great Lakes region, under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, to lay the foundation for regional cooperation and durable peace. It should address comprehensively all the relevant and critical issues faced by the countries in the region. Such a conference is timely now and should be given the necessary impetus by the international community.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Russia regards the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement as a real basis for a political settlement of the problem in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for the restoration of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country and for reaching consensus on ways to achieve national reconciliation and unity and democratic development in the country.

We attach great importance to close coordination between the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Southern African Development Community in the provision of assistance for the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement and in the mobilization of international support. Russia welcomes the appointment of Mr. Berhanu Dinka as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes region and of Mr. Kamel Morjane as Special Representative for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

At the same time, it is clear that the primary responsibility for observing the ceasefire and for implementing other specific commitments lies with the parties that signed the Lusaka Agreement, which are committed to taking the necessary steps to ensure the effective work of the Political Committee and of the Joint Military Commission.

We are sorry to see that, despite some positive movement, there has still been no implementation of the provision in resolution 1234 (1999) regarding the withdrawal of uninvited forces from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, there are still massive violations of the ceasefire, the humanitarian situation remains dramatic and the national dialogue has not begun. We hope that the facilitator appointed by the OAU, President Masire, will be able to get things moving.

Russia supports a further expansion of international efforts to find a settlement to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including deployment of a United Nations mission in the country. The timing of such a deployment should respond to the rate of progress in the peace process and, when the necessary conditions exist, should comprise a large-scale peacekeeping operation. The necessary conditions are that the belligerents actually respect the ceasefire, that the will to constructively resolve disputes is clearly demonstrated and that the security of international personnel is assured. All of this is essential to ensuring a successful operation. The failure of such an operation would have extremely negative consequences for the further development of the situation in the region, and also for the authority of the United Nations and the Security Council.

Because of the complex nature of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, any settlement will necessarily also be complex. One of the key elements in the process is finding the right political solution, one that ensures security and the inviolability of the borders of all the States in the region and that strengthens cooperation between these States on the basis of the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the non-use of force, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The specific mechanisms and guarantees for ensuring security and shared borders after the withdrawal of foreign forces from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo can be worked out within the framework of the Lusaka Agreements on a bilateral and regional basis with broad international support. In this context, we support the idea of an international conference on peace and security in the Great Lakes region.

Russia will continue to provide assistance to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the context of the Lusaka Agreement and through Security Council decisions. We are also willing to study the possibility of Russian participation in international efforts to respond to the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region as a whole.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Portugal, which currently occupies the Presidency of the European Union. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Monteiro (Portugal): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia,

Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, as well as Iceland, align themselves with this statement.

The European Union welcomes your initiative, Mr. President, to focus discussions of the Council during the month of January on Africa, and today on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We also warmly welcome the presence at this important meeting of the heads of State of Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. I would also like to acknowledge the participation in this meeting of ministers from the Governments of Belgium, Burundi, Canada, France, Mali, Namibia and the United Kingdom, as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

This meeting of the Council clearly demonstrates that there is the political will in the region and the international community to advance peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the wider Great Lakes region. But peace and security in the region are only achievable if firmly rooted. The European Union believes that the Lusaka Agreement is the most viable basis for a resolution of the conflict.

The European Union regrets that adherence to the provisions of the Lusaka Agreement by the parties has been far from complete, and that implementation is way behind schedule. Without a full and sustained commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement, the international donor community, of which the European Union represents a major part, will find its ability to contribute to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo limited.

The presence of the leaders of the States signatories to the Lusaka Agreement in New York this week, however, presents a critical opportunity for the parties to set this right and make clear their commitment to the Agreement and its implementation. We hope that one of the results of this week's discussions will be a clear and credible declaration to this end. Such a declaration would offer a firm basis for further deployment of the United Nations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

There are a number of other key targets for this week. The European Union believes that progress must be made to establish the essential institutions and channels that will form the framework for the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. In this connection, the European Union considers that the Joint Military Commission has a crucial role to play, and we encourage efforts towards integration of its work with that of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The European Union also stresses the need to ensure a peaceful and permanent process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the militia groups currently operating in the region. We also hope to see progress this week towards an outline of how this will be achieved. Finally, the European Union stands ready to give its support to the national dialogue in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which it considers to be an essential element of the reconciliation process. Funding by the European Union is available to assist the political dialogue as soon as the parties themselves show their firm readiness to initiate the process. In this context, the European Union welcomes the appointment of Sir Ketumile Masire as the facilitator for the national dialogue and stands ready to help him discharge his mandate. The European Union stresses the need for the dialogue to begin at an early date.

These are the objectives which we hope the parties will work towards this week.

The European Union considers that the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, has a crucial role to play in the peace process. It is the European Union's intention to provide the support needed to ensure the success of MONUC in its second-phase expansion and a subsequent third-phase peacekeeping presence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. For the second phase, we welcome the recommendations of the Secretary-General on the deployment of 500 military observers with a United Nations force. In this regard, the European Union stresses that it is essential to ensure adequate United Nations military protection.

As is clear from the very highest level of representation of the countries in the Great Lakes region here today, a settlement of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo needs to be considered within a regional framework. That is why the European Union reaffirms its support for an eventual international conference on security and cooperation in the Great Lakes region to address and resolve the underlying causes of conflict in the region. The European Union encourages the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and all African countries concerned to begin preparatory work as soon as the main elements of the Lusaka Agreement have been implemented and announces its readiness to cooperate with the parties by providing technical and financial assistance in this regard.

The European Union remains deeply concerned at the immense human suffering caused by the conflict to the civilian population of the region, in particular the dramatic situation faced by the large number of refugees and internally displaced persons. We emphasize the importance of access by humanitarian organizations to all people in need. The European Union reiterates the importance it attaches to the respect for human rights and international humanitarian law, particularly regarding the protection of children and the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of child combatants.

The European Union is fully committed to supporting initiatives that will bring peace to Africa. It is also actively engaged in assisting African countries to develop their economies. However, assistance for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo can be made only under the necessary conditions of peace and security. The European Union therefore appeals to the leaders gathered here today to take this historic opportunity to bring peace to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, to the wider region and to all its people.

The President: I welcome to the Security Council once more our distinguished, dare I say beloved, Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, who will be leaving in about two hours for Moscow on a trip of great importance. We wish him well and thank him for joining us at this point in the process, and we applaud again his enormous efforts to promote the cause of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the important other issues he will take up when he visits Moscow.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its appreciation to the heads of State of Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and to the Foreign Ministers of Namibia, South Africa, Burundi, Canada and the United States, the Vice-Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, the Minister Delegate for Cooperation and Francophonie of France, the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, and the Minister of Armed Forces of Mali, who participated in its meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo on 24 January 2000. The Council also expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the representative of the Chairman of the OAU, and the OAU-nominated Facilitator of the Congolese national dialogue. Their presence and their statements attest to their renewed commitment to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (S/1999/815) and to the search for a durable peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region. Their presence in New York also reinforces the progress made at the Maputo Summit of 16 January 2000 and the Harare meeting of the Political Committee of 18 January 2000. The Council expects that this progress will continue at the next Political Committee Meeting and Summit of the Signatories to the Agreement.

"The Security Council urges all the parties to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement to build on the momentum of these meetings in order to create and sustain the climate necessary for the full implementation of the Agreement. It underlines the importance of a revised implementation calendar for the full and effective implementation of the tasks in the Agreement.

"The Security Council reaffirms the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including over its natural resources, in accordance with the principles of the Charters of the United Nations and the OAU. In this regard, it reiterates its call for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the orderly withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in accordance with the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. The Council reaffirms its support for the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and also reaffirms its resolutions 1234 (1999) of 9 April 1999, 1258 (1999) of 6 August 1999, 1273 (1999) of 5 November 1999 and 1279 (1999) of 30 November 1999.

"The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General of 17 January 2000 (S/2000/30). The Council expresses its determination to support the implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. Accordingly, it has now begun consideration of a resolution authorizing the expansion of the present mandate of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) along the lines recommended by the Secretary-General in that report. It expresses its intention to act promptly on this basis. It expresses its intention to consider at

the appropriate time preparations for an additional phase of United Nations deployment and further action. It welcomes the statements by the heads of State and delegation in support of the proposals of the Secretary-General. The Council welcomes the arrival of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, expresses its support for his efforts, and urges all parties to provide him with the assistance and cooperation he will require to carry out his functions.

"The Security Council supports the establishment of a coordinated MONUC/Joint Military Commission (JMC) structure with co-located headquarters and joint support arrangements. The Council believes this is a vital step in enhancing the ability of the United Nations to support the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. In this regard, the Council urges Member States and donor organizations to continue to provide assistance to the JMC.

"The Security Council underlines the absolute necessity of security and access for United Nations personnel deployed in support of the Lusaka process, and stresses that such a climate of cooperation is an essential prerequisite for the successful implementation of the mandate of MONUC in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Council calls on all signatories to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement to provide assurances of safety, security and freedom of movement of United Nations and associated personnel, and in this regard attaches importance to the statement by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo on the security of MONUC and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

"The Security Council stresses the importance of the national dialogue as called for in the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, and affirms that it must be an open, inclusive and democratic process conducted independently by the Congolese people under the established facilitation. It further affirms that the national dialogue is the best means for all Congolese parties to address the political future of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The Security Council strongly supports the designation of the former President of Botswana, Sir Ketumile Masire, as the Facilitator of the national dialogue as provided for by the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, and calls on Member States to provide full financial and other support to his efforts and the process as a whole. The Council welcomes the declared readiness of the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to begin the national dialogue, and to guarantee the security of all participants.

"The Security Council stresses the need for the continued operation of United Nations and other agencies' humanitarian relief operations and human rights promotion and monitoring under acceptable conditions of security, freedom of movement, and access to affected areas. The Council expresses its serious concern over the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as the shortfall in responses to the United Nations consolidated humanitarian appeal. It therefore urges Member States and donor organizations to make available the necessary funds to carry out urgent humanitarian operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The Security Council expresses its concern that the presence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo of non-signatory armed groups that have yet to be demobilized constitutes a threat to the Lusaka process. The Council recognizes that disarmament, demobilization, resettlement and reintegration (DDRR) are among the fundamental objectives of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

"The Council underlines that a credible plan for DDRR must be based on an agreed and comprehensive set of principles.

"The Security Council expresses deep concern over the illicit flow of arms into the region, and calls upon all concerned to halt such flows.

"The Security Council values the continuing leadership of the peace process by the President of Zambia and the vital contribution of the Southern African Development Community through its Chairman, the President of Mozambique. It also expresses its appreciation to the current Chairman of the OAU, the President of Algeria, and to the Secretary-General of the OAU for the organization's vital role in the Lusaka process. It urges them to continue their essential efforts in close cooperation with the Security Council and the Secretary-General."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2000/2.

The next open meeting of the Security Council on Africa will be on Monday, 31 January. President Chiluba is going to remain in New York to make a final statement of a comprehensive nature, going beyond the issues of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We invite other speakers to take part. I thank all those who have participated, and we look forward to turning the gavel over to our friends from Argentina next Tuesday.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4093

Security Council
Fifty-fifth Year

Provisional

4093rd Meeting
Friday, 28 January 2000, 12.20 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Holbrooke	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Vamos-Goldman
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	France	Mr. Teixeira da Silva
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Netherlands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon

Agenda

Admission of new Members

Note by the Secretary-General (S/2000/5)

00-26660 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 12.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members

Note by the Secretary-General (S/2000/5)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

In a letter dated 16 November 1999 addressed to the Secretary-General, the Prime Minister of Tuvalu submitted the application of his country for membership in the United Nations. That letter has been circulated in document S/2000/5.

Under the provisions of rule 59 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, unless the Council decides otherwise, an application for membership shall be referred by the President of the Council to the Committee on the Admission of New Members. Accordingly, unless I hear a proposal to the contrary, I shall refer the application of Tuvalu to the Committee on the Admission of New Members for examination and report.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I would propose that the Committee on the Admission of New Members meet today, 28 January, at 3.30 p.m., in Conference Room 7, to consider the application of Tuvalu for membership in the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4094

Security Council
Fifty-fifth Year

Provisional

4094th Meeting
Monday, 31 January 2000, 9.30 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Holbrooke	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Moglia
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Duval
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Jamaica	
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Namibia	Mr. Theron
	Netherlands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond

Agenda

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/2000/39)

00-26873 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 9.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Georgia

Report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia (S/2000/39)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations. Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General concerning the situation in Abkhazia, Georgia, document S/2000/39. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2000/56, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/2000/52, which contains the text of a letter dated 26 January 2000 from the Russian Federation, transmitting the decision of the Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) on further measures for the settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia, Georgia.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, China, France, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Absent:

Jamaica

The President: There were 14 votes in favour, none against, no abstentions, with one delegation absent, Jamaica. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1287 (2000).

[Subsequently the Permanent Representative of Jamaica indicated that she would have voted in favour had she been present at the time of voting.]

The President: The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 9.45 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4095

Security Council
Fifty-fifth Year

Provisional

4095th Meeting
Monday, 31 January 2000, 9.45 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Holbrooke	(United States of America)
Members:	Argentina	Ms. Moglia
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Duval
	China	Mr. Qin Huasun
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Netherlands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Richmond

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/2000/28)

00-26882 (E)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 9.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/2000/28)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (document S/2000/28).

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2000/57, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1999/1284, which contains the text of a letter dated 28 December 1999 from Lebanon addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2000/57) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, China, France, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1288 (2000).

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has noted with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) of 17 January 2000 (S/2000/28) submitted in conformity with resolution 1254 (1999) of 30 July 1999.

"The Security Council reaffirms its commitment to the full sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Lebanon within its internationally recognized boundaries. In this context, the Council asserts that all States shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

"As the Security Council extends the mandate of UNIFIL for a further interim period on the basis of resolution 425 (1978), the Council again stresses the urgent need for the implementation of that resolution in all its respects. It reiterates its full support for the Taif Agreement and for the continued efforts of the Lebanese Government to consolidate peace, national unity and security in the country, while successfully carrying out the reconstruction process. The Council commends the Lebanese Government for its successful effort to extend its authority in the south of the country in full coordination with UNIFIL.

"The Security Council expresses its concern over the continuing violence in southern Lebanon, regrets the loss of civilian life, and urges all parties to exercise restraint.

"The Security Council takes this opportunity to express its appreciation for the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General and his staff in this regard. The Council notes with deep concern the high level of casualties which UNIFIL has suffered and pays a special tribute to all those who gave their life while serving in UNIFIL. It commends UNIFIL's troops and troop-contributing countries for their sacrifices and commitment to the cause of international peace and security under difficult circumstances."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2000/3. I would ask that it be conveyed directly to the Secretary-General, who is still travelling overseas, as a strong statement of the Security Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 9.50 a.m.